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REVIEW OF THE LIFE OF CRANMER.

*The Life of Archbishop Cranmer. By Charles W. La Bas, M. A., professor in the East India College, Herts, and late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In two volumes, 18mo.*

EVERY thing connected with that convulsive struggle which terminated in the prostration of the pope's supremacy, and the establishment of the Protestant doctrine, excites a deep and lively interest in the minds of all the friends of civil and religious rights and privileges. Even the low murmurings which preceded that event are heard with a sort of sorrowful delight. When we read of the bold attempts of such choice spirits as *Huss* and *Jerome*, to emancipate their countrymen from their civil and spiritual thralldom, we instinctively tremble for their fate but when we follow them to the prison in which they were perfidiously incarcerated, and learn their final doom, our indignation is roused against the inhuman wretches who would be guilty of such acts of treachery and cruelty; and we cannot but wish success to a cause so righteous in itself, so beneficial to mankind in its results, and which called forth such recklessness of the principles of justice and humanity to suppress it. It is not possible, indeed, to read the history of those eventful times, without feeling the excitement of indignation against those merciless tyrants who violated their plighted faith to defeat the efforts of these godly men who were instrumental in sowing the seeds of the reformation. And while we look with abhorrence at those who thus smote their fellows because they dissented from them in matters of faith, our sympathies are instinctively awakened in behalf of the righteous sufferers themselves, and the cause in which they labored, bled, and died. Their example teaches us how to live, and how to quench the fiery darts of the enemy. Hence a faithful account of their sufferings, is among the most instructive records which are bequeathed to us. And among those who contributed largely to secure to us the blessings of religious liberty, stands pre-eminently the archbishop of Canterbury.

In his life we have, in general, an exemplification of all those Christian virtues which distinguish the well informed and energetic Christian—while in the life and conduct of his enemies we have, in dark and solemn contrast, all the hateful features of human nature, exhi-

biting themselves in the most condemnable forms, against truth, against God and His Church, and against His pious followers. It is true that in the archbishop we shall discover some spots of human infirmity, some darks clouds of error, which lead us to lament that human nature cannot be more perfect, that the judgment is always liable to err, and that the light of truth rises gradually upon the mind and upon the world.

But whatever of human infirmity may be discoverable in the conduct of Cranmer, the general virtues of his character, the amenity of his disposition, the dignity of his deportment, and his ardent attachment to truth, when contrasted with the intriguing, the haughty, the cruel, and the refined wickedness of his enemies, set him off to the greatest advantage, and make him appear as one of the brightest luminaries of the age in which he lived. Whenever, therefore, we praise God for the blessings of civil and religious liberty, we should remember that Archbishop Cranmer was one of those honored instruments whom God employed for its achievement. Though long since dead, he yet speaketh.

From the volumes before us we shall endeavor to present our readers with such an outline of his character, and of those important transactions in which he was engaged, as may enable them to form a proper estimate of his worth, and to appreciate the value of those virtuous exertions which rendered him so eminently useful in his day and generation.

It appears that THOMAS CRANMER was born at the village of Astarton, Nottingham county, England, July 2, 1489—and that his lineage may be traced to a follower of William III., the celebrated Norman conqueror. Though he lost his father early in life, at the age of fourteen he was placed by his mother at Jesus College, Cambridge, of which he was elected fellow in 1510 or 1511. The course of study prescribed in the college at that time, though it might be defective in imbuing the mind with the most useful branches of knowledge, was nevertheless calculated to habituate the intellect to close thought, to sharpen the faculties, and to prepare him in after life for supplanting the dominion which the schoolmen so long and so injuriously exercised over the department of theology.

Before he attained the age of twenty-three he married, which of course obliged him to relinquish the emoluments of his fellowship. Losing, however, his wife in about one year after his marriage, the widower was generously restored to his forfeited fellowship, and thus reinstated to the privilege of continuing his theological studies without interruption. This circumstance shows the high estimation in which Cranmer was held by the rulers of the college, as nothing but the most liberal construction of its statutes could have placed a *widower* on the list of its fellows. In 1523 he received the degree of doctor



of divinity, being only thirty-four years of age. 'Soon after which,' says his biographer,

'He was appointed to the divinity-lectureship in his own college, and, in the university, to that of public examiner in theology. The latter of these offices demanded of him no ordinary exercise of integrity. He had then been long devoted to the study of the sacred volume; and his attention to it was sufficiently notorious to acquire for him the truly honorable, though at that time somewhat invidious, appellation of *scripturist*. The justice with which this title was ascribed to him was, much to their dissatisfaction, frequently experienced by those who were desirous of proceeding in divinity. Whatever might be their accomplishments in the scholastic erudition, it never was accepted by Cranmer as a passport to their degree, if not accompanied by a competent knowledge of the Bible. The candidate, in such cases, was uniformly rejected by him, and admonished to dedicate some years to the examination of that book which alone could instruct him in the grounds of his faith and hope. The resentment excited by his inflexible adherence to this great principle, it may easily be imagined, was often deep and violent; more especially among the friars. But the wisdom of it was, in many instances, abundantly justified by the grateful testimony of the disappointed candidates themselves, several of whom were known, in after life, to express their cordial thanks for the firmness which compelled them to the attainment of a better knowledge than the schools could teach them.'

It has been often very justly remarked, that individuals who have become eminent in society have owed their elevation more to the force of circumstances beyond their own control than to any remarkable genius which they possessed, or to any ambitious design to push themselves into notoriety. This is unquestionably true of every *good* man. He is so far from wishing to court the public gaze, or to raise himself upon the pinnacle of fame, that he seeks rather to hide himself from observation, and shrinks from that sort of notoriety which exposes him to the eye of a scrutinizing multitude. It should be remarked, however, that those circumstances which contribute to the elevation of an individual from the vale of obscurity, must find a suitable subject to operate upon. To improve an opportunity, or to take advantage of occurring circumstances, requires that maturity of judgment and promptness of action which can be found only among men of strong intellectual powers and of industrious habits. Added to these qualifications there must be an intense desire to acquire and to do good, to enable a man to turn every thing to the best account, to make it subserve the interests of truth and righteousness.

A novice cannot seize hold of an important thought and give it expansion. A thousand apples might have fallen in the presence of a multitude, among whom there was only one Newton to infer the laws of gravitation from this common occurrence. The war of the French revolution might have continued on to desolate the kingdoms of Europe,

in all its violent and destructive rage, and a hundred brave generals might have looked on with trepidation, mixed with hope and dismay, had there not been a genius like Bonaparte to avert its progress, give it another direction, and finally to control the troubled and discordant elements which, by their perpetual collisions, were sweeping prosperity and peace from the earth. The pope might have deluded and deluged the world to this day with the sale of indulgences in the presence of a thousand pious souls who were destitute of the genius, the energy, and the intrepidity of Luther. He was eminently fitted to check and to turn back this overflowing flood of ungodliness; and hence, quite contrary to his design and expectations, he became the honored instrument of creating a new era in the annals of Christianity, no less famous for the reformation which was effected in the principles and conduct of mankind, than it was for marking the progress of the human mind in its emacipation from intellectual and spiritual thralldom. A similar remark may be made of John Wesley. Though ardently devoted to the cause of his Divine Master, he thought to have buried himself in the shades of Oxford; but as his talents, his activity, and the depth of his piety eminently fitted him for such a work, he was called forth into the open field of theological warfare, and he evinced on all occasions his qualifications to meet the circumstances of the times, to grapple with the monster of iniquity, and to vanquish, with the strong arm of truth, the serpentine errors which had insinuated themselves into the Church. And to mention one more instance illustrative of the point under consideration;—had Columbus been a less penetrating genius, less assiduous in his endeavors to overcome the obstacles which were thrown in his path of discovery, or less patient in enduring the contradictions of ignorant and narrow contracted enemies, the invention of the mariner's compass would never have led him to the discovery of America. He was every way fitted to take advantage of the improved state of geographical knowledge for the enlargement of the boundaries of the civilized world.

These remarks have been elicited by noticing the circumstances which first brought Cranmer prominently into public notice, and recommended him particularly to the attention of Henry VIII., king of England. That our readers may understand this matter fully, it is necessary to give some of the incidents of this king's life and actions, not related in the volumes before us, previously to his becoming acquainted with Cranmer. Henry had married the widow of his brother; and whether from disgust at her character and conduct, or from real scruples of conscience as he pretended—though from his future conduct it seems quite evident that conscience had but little to do in the case—he had come to a determination to repudiate the queen, and to give his hand to another, namely, to Ann Boleyn, daughter of the earl of

Wiltshire. That he might have the appearance, at least, of acting in this business in conformity to the usages of law, the king applied to the pope for a divorce from the woman with whom he had lived in wedlock about twenty years. Impatient at the delays which accompanied this application, and desirous of conciliating the good opinion of mankind in relation to this extraordinary step, Henry instituted consultations among the learned bodies of Europe, both in his own dominions and on the continent, in respect to the lawfulness of separating himself from his brother's widow, and espousing another more in accordance with his desires.

Such was the nature of this question, that it created an absorbing interest, and every one was anxious, either to elicit information from others or to express his own opinion. Among others Cranmer, whose judgment was highly respected in the circle of his acquaintance, was consulted. When the subject was broached to him he protested that it was entirely new to his thoughts, and he therefore requested time for deliberation. In the mean time he suggested that the question ought to be determined by the word of God, and not merely by human authority, and hence, that the opinion of learned clergymen should be diligently sought. His words were speedily repeated to the king himself, who was so much pleased with his suggestions that he instantly exclaimed, 'Where is this Doctor Cranmer? I perceive that he hath the right sow by the ear.' Measures were immediately adopted to introduce Cranmer to the king. And, as an instance of his modesty, and a proof of what we have already said of the reluctance with which men of merit suffer themselves to be brought into public notoriety, Cranmer complained bitterly of the officiousness of those who had thus involved him in this intricate affair; but his remonstrances were unavailing, and he was brought into the presence of the king; and in obedience to his orders he laid aside all other business for a season, that he might give himself up to a more thorough investigation of this very delicate and intricate subject.

It is not our design to follow the king through all the mazes of this intricate affair, in which so many interests were involved, and the consequences of which shook most of the kingdoms of Europe, but more especially prostrated the power of the pope in the kingdom of Great Britain. To effect the object the king had in view, without an open rupture with the pope, he sent Cranmer to Rome to confer with his holiness, and, if possible, to obtain his consent to the intended dissolution of his marriage. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful. He could obtain nothing but fair speeches and vexatious delays. After his return from the court of Rome, he was sent by Henry, to effect the same object, to Germany. The following account of his efforts



there, and of the elevation of Cranmer to the archepiscopal see, we give in the language of his biographer:—

‘While these negotiations were in progress, nearly the whole of Protestant Germany was ringing with an outcry against the scandal of degrading an illustrious princess, and exemplary woman, from the throne and the bed which she had occupied, without impeachment, for twenty years. But Henry was now too deeply committed to retreat in obedience to the most vehement expressions of public feeling or opinion. The disgrace and injury inflicted on the queen—the generous sympathies of an indignant people—the prevalent suspicion that he was impelled by passion, rather than by conscience, to the dissolution of his marriage—all seem to have been lost sight of, in the urgency of his impatience to be delivered from his yoke. The steadiness of his resolution was confirmed by his reliance on the character of his ambassador. That Cranmer was profoundly sincere in his persuasion that the king’s marriage with Catherine was incestuous, there is not the slightest reason to question. It is true that the office which he was at this time discharging, relative to the great matrimonial suit, was not of his own seeking. His appointment to it was the result of accidents beyond his control. But when once he was engaged in the cause, he devoted to it all the resources of his industry and learning. He was acting simply as the envoy and representative of his sovereign, conformably to the almost immemorial custom which, for want of laymen sufficiently accomplished, had generally consigned the functions of diplomacy to canonists and churchmen. He was laboring to bring to a prosperous issue a question in which he conceived the peace and honor of the king to be deeply involved; a question, too, which in its remoter influence, he considered as vitally important to the religion and the happiness of his country. His thoughts had long been fixed on the standard of reformation which had been reared on the continent of Europe. Originally, indeed, his own mind had been awakened by the study of the Scriptures, and by the best models of secular literature. But every day he lived,—and more especially every hour he passed at Rome,—strengthened his conviction that nothing could do justice either to the moral grandeur of England, or to the cause of Scriptural truth, but an intrepid imitation of the German example. His exertions, therefore, in opposition to the supreme dispensing power of the pope, were the efforts of a genuine Christian patriot, as well as the labors of a faithful servant in behalf of an earthly master.

‘An occasion speedily occurred which raised him to a station eventually still more favorable to his enlightened views. While he was on the continent, the see of Canterbury was vacated by the death of Archbishop Warham. On this event, Cranmer was instantly summoned to return. Some intimation, however, appears to have reached him of the king’s design to raise him to the primacy. Anxious as he might be for the spiritual deliverance of his country, the sudden approach of so arduous a responsibility staggered his resolution. His own habits had been studious and retired. His temper was so unambitious, that we have already seen him hazardously refusing the patronage of Wolsey, and anxious to escape an introduction to the king. By constitution he was diffident and cautious, perhaps even to timidity; while the unquiet aspect of the times threatened to make the primacy

a post of unexampled difficulty and peril. He had recently entered, for the second time, into the state of matrimony ; an irregularity which might become a source of incessant and vexatious embarrassment to the first ecclesiastic of this yet popish kingdom. And, lastly, the character of Henry must, even then, have sufficiently developed itself to satisfy him that he would have to serve an arbitrary and "hard-ruled" master. These were considerations which might well deter even a firmer and more aspiring individual from the dangerous promotion which his sovereign was now preparing to force upon him. He, accordingly, delayed his departure from Germany for several weeks, in the hope that the intention to elevate him might drop from the king's mind in the interval, and that the choice might fall upon some other person ; and four months elapsed, on the whole, before he could be prevailed on to accept the formidable preferment. Even when he found that the purpose of Henry was not to be shaken by his earnest entreaties to be exempt from the burden, he farther manifested his reluctance by attempting to place another obstacle in the way of the king's design ; an obstacle which he probably hoped would be quite insurmountable. He declared that he could receive the archbishopric only from the king himself, as supreme governor of the Church of England, (a character which had already been recognized by the convocation,) and not of the pope, who, in his judgment, had no authority within the realm. This was an impediment which compelled Henry to pause. The difficulty, however, was referred to civilians of eminence, who submitted that the affair might be adjusted, without an open and final rupture with Rome, (for which Henry was not then prepared,) by the expedient of a solemn protest, to be made by the archbishop on the day of his consecration. By this protest (it was suggested) he might declare that he did not hold himself bound by this oath to any thing against the law of God, the realm of England, or the prerogatives of the sovereign ; or restrained by it from taking part in the reformation of the Church of England.

' In this arrangement, Cranmer, though most reluctantly, acquiesced. He lived in an age when, to decline an office imposed by the sovereign, was regarded as an act of almost treasonable contumacy. He had, nevertheless, already stood out for four months against the wishes of the king : and having now an opportunity offered him of declaring, in the face of the world, the precise extent of obligation which he conceived to be imposed upon him by his oath to the pope, he felt that it would be scarcely possible to resist any longer the importunity of his sovereign. To the very last, however, he never ceased to manifest his conviction that the customary bulls, for his investment with the primacy, were altogether nugatory and worthless : and when it was proposed to him that a messenger should be despatched to Rome for those instruments, and should take the usual oath in his name, he replied that whoever did so must take the responsibility *on his own soul!*

' It does not appear that the application for the bulls in question met with the slightest difficulty at Rome. And yet, the pope must have known Cranmer well. Cranmer had already contended against the papal power of dispensation, in the grand cause of the divorce. He had done this first openly at the Vatican. He had, subsequently, been

carrying the same doctrine with him over Germany. He had farther, by his own marriage, very intelligibly declared war against the discipline and policy of the Romish Church. So that if his protest were to have been read in the ear of Clement himself, before he fixed his seal to the instruments demanded, it could have conveyed to him no new intelligence. The life and writings of Cranmer had, of themselves, been a virtual and notorious protest, to the same effect as his intended declaration at Westminster. It would, therefore, be idle to imagine that the pope was entrapped into the admission of a *secret* enemy, to the primacy of England. When he sent the bulls required, he must doubtless have been aware, that to refuse them would only have been to bring on a crisis, which would inevitably expose their insignificance.

‘When these documents arrived, and were delivered to Cranmer, he instantly deposited them in the hands of the king: as if to intimate that these were instruments which he himself did not consider as at all essential to the validity of his appointment, and which had been obtained purely in compliance with the royal will and pleasure. The day fixed for his consecration was the 30th of March, more than seven months subsequently to the decease of Archbishop Warham. On that day, previously to his taking the oath to the pope, he presented and read his protestation, to the effect above mentioned, in the presence of the royal prothonotary, of two doctors of law, of one of the royal chaplains, and of the official principal of the court of Canterbury: and he required that the protestation should be formally recorded, and attested by the witnesses present. This was done, not in a “private room,” but in the chapter house at Westminster. At the steps of the altar in the Church, he again presented his protestation, declaring that he understood and took the oath according to the tenor of that protest; and required that a record should be made of this declaration, attested by the same witnesses as before. Lastly, when he was about to receive the pall, he once more proclaimed at the altar, that he understood the oath under the limitations of the same instrument; and demanded, for the third time, that the proceeding might be solemnly attested and enrolled. It appears, therefore, that his paper was first read in the presence of official witnesses, in the place appropriated to the performance of all such public acts; that it was twice produced at the altar, in the presence of a crowded congregation; and that, at every stage of the proceeding, he insisted that his declaration should be invested with the solemnity of a public record.

‘In order to form a righteous estimate of Cranmer’s conduct on this celebrated occasion, it will be necessary that the reader should have before him the two oaths which, in those times, were imposed on all bishops, previously to their consecration. The first of these was their *oath to the pope*: and its tenor is as follows:—

‘I, John, bishop or abbot of A., from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong, by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers, or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy



of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regality of St. Peter, I shall help, and maintain, and defend, against all men. The legate of the see apostolic, going and coming, I shall honorably entreat. *The rights, honors, privileges, authorities, of the Church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be, in council, treaty, or any act, in which any thing shall be imagined against him, or the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honors, or powers.* And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments, apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles I shall visit yearly, personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions, without the pope's counsel. So God help me and the holy evangelists.

‘The following is the oath of the bishops to the king:—

‘I, John, bishop of A., utterly renounce, and clearly forsake, all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have, or shall have, hereafter of the pope's holiness, of and for the bishopric of A., that in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, dignity, privilege, or estate royal. And also I do swear, that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear to you, my sovereign lord, and to your heirs, kings of the same, of life and limb, and yearly worship, above all creatures, for to live and die for you and yours, against all people. And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power, and your counsel I shall keep and hold, *knowledging myself to hold my bishopric of you only*, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same, promising, as before, that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient subject to your said highness, heirs, and successors, during my life, and the services and other things due to your highness for the restitution of the temporalities of the said bishopric, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God help me, and all saints.’

Being thus elevated to the highest ecclesiastical post in the kingdom, and which brought him in close contact with one of the most haughty, restless, and in some sense the most voluptuous and unrelenting monarchs which ever disgraced a throne, Cranmer had a very difficult part to act; and his difficulties increased tenfold in consequence of the many jarring interests with which he had to contend in consequence of the part he took against the pope and his adherents, as well as by the untractable spirits with which he was surrounded on all sides.

The first and most important official act which the archbishop was called upon to perform, was to pronounce the marriage of Henry with Catherine unlawful, and thus to absolve the conjugal ties *publicly* which had for some time been severed *secretly*, not only by the aliena-

tion of his affections from his spouse, but by a secret marriage with the object of his fond desires. Whatever may be thought of the act itself which declared the marriage of the king and queen illegal and nugatory, Cranmer was supported by the opinion of the bench of bishops, with the exception of one solitary voice,—by the most celebrated universities of Europe,—the sentence of the English convocation, as well as by his own uniform decision from the time he began to deliberate on the subject. Being thus supported, as well as urged on by the king's earnest entreaties, the marriage contract was, May 23, 1533, pronounced by Cranmer to be null and void, and soon thereafter the king's marriage with Ann Boleyn, which had been performed in the month of January preceding, secretly and without the archbishop's knowledge, was publicly proclaimed, and the coronation soon followed with great pomp and ceremony. We give these as historical facts, without attempting to decide on the righteousness of the course pursued by Cranmer, although, even with those who are disposed to accuse him of being biassed in his decision by kingly authority, he will doubtless find an apology in the spirit of the times in which he lived, in the great deference which was wont to be paid to royal prerogative, as well as the animosity which was just then waking up against popery. This act of the archbishop's aroused the indignation of the pope and his adherents, and brought a flood of obloquy upon Cranmer; and it was followed by a revocation of the sentence of Cranmer, declaring the king's marriage unlawful, and his excommunication from the Church of Rome soon followed. These arbitrary and high-handed proceedings on the part of the pope and his conclave, eventuated in the severance of the British dominions from the Roman hierarchy, and the establishment of the Protestant religion.

But how very imperfectly were the principles of religious toleration understood in those days! At the very time that the nation was rejoicing at the coronation of the new queen, and Cranmer had escaped from the merciless claws of his bitter persecutors, he was giving his sanction to persecution for conscience sake. Though delivered from the supremacy of the pope, Cranmer still held fast the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation; and for calling in question the truth of this dogma, to us incredible, two men were condemned to the flames, under the sanction of Cranmer, and were accordingly executed. How inveterate is prejudice! And what a frightful symptom is this of the general spirit which pervaded the age in which Cranmer lived. And what cause of gratitude is it, that we live at a period when such acts are reprobated by the general voice of mankind. The difficulties of Cranmer's situation are thus depicted by his biographer:—

‘When Cranmer was advanced to the primacy of England, and

had time to survey the variety and extent of his responsibilities, the prospect must have been sufficient to appal him, and to show that, so far as his own personal ease was concerned, he did well to deprecate the preferment. For several years past, the mind of England had been in a state of incessant commotion. Questions had been freely agitated, the discussion of which was sure to send a feeling of restlessness and impatience throughout the whole mass of the community. A force had been incessantly at work, gradually to loosen the connection which bound the whole frame of society to the fabric of the Romish Church, with a cement which had been hardened by the lapse of ages. Things which, for many a century, had been deemed by multitudes immutable as the laws of nature, were now found to contain within themselves the elements of change. The supremacy of the Roman pontiff, more especially, had, till then, been very generally regarded as a fundamental principle of revealed religion. Yet this was precisely the principle against which the first violence of the spirit now abroad was vehemently directed : and, what was still more astounding, the assault against it was either directed or assisted by men who had pledged themselves to its maintenance by the most solemn sanctions which religion can impose. All this cannot have happened without a perilous convulsion of the public mind. It may be said, without the smallest exaggeration, that no disturbance in the order of the physical world could have produced, in many a heart, much more confusion and dismay than that which was occasioned by this rupture of immemorial prejudices and associations. The fountains of the great deep were breaking up before their eyes, and the summits of ancient institutions seemed in danger of disappearing beneath the deluge.

‘An archbishop of Canterbury might well regard with some consternation the elemental war before him. The winds of discord were, even then, beginning to rush from their confinement ; and their roar might have appalled the bravest heart. Humanly speaking, Cranmer might soon have been lost in the tempest, if a more lordly spirit than his own had not controlled its fury. It was fortunate, perhaps, for the cause of this great mental revolution, that his master was one who, according to Wolsey’s description of him, would rather lose half his kingdom than miss the accomplishment of his will,—one whom nothing could appal, save the destruction of the pillars that kept the firmament from falling. And yet this very attribute of Henry was, itself, another source of difficulty and danger to those who were doomed to act in the same sphere with him. The increasing distraction of the times was bringing a change over his spirit. Six years of vexatious delay and treacherous chicanery, (soon followed up, as we have seen, by an act of insult and defiance,) gradually brought out the more formidable qualities of his nature. The frank, joyous, and convivial prince was beginning to degenerate into the stern and inflexible sovereign ; and to verify the saying that he spared no man in his wrath, and no woman in his jealousy or his lust. This was the master whom Cranmer was to serve. This was the power under whose auspices he was to work out the deliverance and restoration of the English Church. He was doomed to stand by, while the cradle of our spiritual independence was rocked by the hand of impetuous and capricious despotism.



‘One of the first measures which Cranmer had found it necessary to adopt was the publication of certain restraints on the licentious abuse of the pulpit. His diocese, from its geographical position, was favorable to the introduction of the reformed opinions from the continent: and the conflict between the new and the ancient learning was there proportionably violent. The spirit of dissension was active among his clergy. Their pulpits were often the watch-towers of a fierce controversial warfare. The injuries of the *incomparable* Catherine, and the elevation of a youthful upstart in her place, were themes far too tempting for the advocates of the papal supremacy to resist: and the violence with which these subjects were publicly discussed by the clergy, speedily communicated itself to their still more unlettered and ignorant hearers. The consequence was, that the new queen was becoming the object of such coarse and vulgar raillery, that it became expedient to put some restraint upon this most unseemly *liberty of prophesying*.

‘The general discontent, however, did not confine itself to invective. It took the shape of treasonable conspiracy and imposture: and the diocese of Cranmer was the scene of the disgraceful exhibition. No incident in English history is better known than the story of Elizabeth Barton, the nun of Kent. This wretched *Pythoress*—the *Sæur Nativite* of her day—was a native of Aldrington, in Kent. Her epileptic affections were exalted by her accomplices into mystic trances. She was skilfully trained by them to utter treason in the shape of prophecy: and her mission was accredited by a “letter written in heaven,” and delivered to her by the hand of Mary Magdalene! Abel, the ecclesiastical agent of Queen Catherine, degraded himself by joining in this vile confederacy; and it is melancholy to find that such men as Warham, Fisher, and, for a time, Sir Thomas More, were dupes of the delusion. For no less than eight or nine years together had this miserable woman and her priestly confederates continued to assail the proceedings and character of the king; till at length she ventured to proclaim that he should die a villian’s death, and to fix on the day on which he should cease to reign. It was not till the extensive patronage of the papal clergy had begun to make the fraud formidably dangerous that the original contrivers of it were sent to expiate their offences at Tyburn.

‘The activity of Cranmer in assisting to detect this cheat was among the earliest services rendered by him to the cause of good order and religion. His own account of the fraud is still extant in a letter to Archdeacon Hawkins, dated December 20, 1533: and, in one respect, it is eminently curious, since it serves to show that, like the impostors of the remotest times, the holy maid of Kent was partly indebted for her success to the faculty of ventriloquism. After informing his correspondent of the great miracle wrought upon her eight years before, “by the power of God, and our lady of Curtupstreet, and of the pilgrimage established in consequence of it,” he adds—“When she was brought thither and laid before the image of our lady, her face was wonderfully disfigured, her tongue hanging out, and her eyes being, in a manner, plucked out and laid upon her cheeks; and so, greatly disordered. *Then was there a voice heard speaking in her belly, as it had been in a tun, her lips not greatly moving*; she all

that while continuing, by the space of three hours or more, in a trance. The which voice, when it told any thing of the joys of heaven, it spake so sweetly and so heavenly, that every man was ravished with the hearing thereof. And, contrary, when it told any thing of hell, it spake so horribly and terribly that it put the hearers in great fear. It spake, also, many things for the confirmation of pilgrimages, and trentals, hearing of masses, and confessions, and many such other things. And after she had lain there a long time, she came to herself again and was perfectly whole. And so this miracle was finished and solemnly sung, and a book written of all the whole story thereof, and put into print; which, ever since that time, hath been commonly sold, and gone abroad among all people." In a subsequent passage of his letter, the archbishop continues thus: "Surely, I think she did marvellously stop the going forward of the king's marriage, by reason of her visions, which she said were of God; persuading them that came to see her how highly God was displeased therewith, and what vengeance almighty God would take on all the favorers thereof: insomuch that she wrote letters to the pope, calling upon him in God's behalf to stop and let the said marriage, and to use his high and heavenly power therein, as he would avoid the great stroke of God which then hanged over his head if he did the contrary. She also had communicated with my lord cardinal, and with my lord of Canterbury in the matter. And, in mine opinion, with her feigned visions and godly threatenings she staid them very much in the matter."—"Now, about midsummer last, I, hearing of these matters, sent for this holy maid to examine her; and from me she was had to Mr. Cromwell to be farther examined there. And now she confessed all, and uttered the very truth, which is this: that she never had a vision in all her life, but all that she ever said was feigned of her own imagination, only, to satisfy the minds of them that resorted unto her, and to obtain worldly praise. By reason of which her confessions, many and divers, both religious men and others, be now in trouble, forasmuch as they consented to her mischievous and feigned visions, which contained much perilous sedition and also treason." He concludes this letter with the interesting intelligence, that the queen was delivered of a princess on the 13th or 14th of September, and that he himself had the honor of being her godfather.'

It is a very trite remark, that the human mind is ever prone to run into extremes. And this is more especially true in times of great excitement. No sooner had the people of Great Britain shaken off the yoke of papal dominion, and placed the triple crown upon the head of Henry, than they began to demolish almost every thing which bore the marks of the ancient superstition, and were in danger of running mad in the wild career of levelling all distinctions in human society. This was pleaded as an excuse for restraining the liberty of the press, for abridging the freedom of discussion, and even of laying an embargo upon the pulpit itself. Hence the sanguinary laws which were enacted during the reign of this prince, by which the liberties of the people were nearly destroyed, and the progress of the reformation, which was considered by Henry only as an instrument of his own

exaltation, went on but slowly, and accomplished little else than the alteration of some external rites and ceremonies, and the exchanging the mitre of the pope for the crown of a temporal prince, every way as haughty, as voluptuous, as tyrannical and obstinate, as was Leo X. himself, or any other potentate who sported himself with the liberties and miseries of his vassal subjects. Though many of these evils should doubtless be attributed to the comparative barbarism of the age in which he lived, yet the disposition of Henry VIII. knew no bounds for the gratification either of his passions or his desires for external pomp and splendor.

The next thing of importance which engaged the attention of Cranmer was a visitation of the see of Canterbury, with a view to reform abuses, to strengthen the hands of the reforming clergy and people, as well as to check the overbearing conduct of those ecclesiastics who still cleaved to the hierarchy of Rome. In this work the archbishop was, under various pretexts, opposed by Gardiner, and the bishop of London. He, however, persevered in his undertaking, being patronized by the king, and encouraged by the pious and good of all ranks. It was during this visitation, while witnessing the ignorance of the people, and the sottishness of most of the clergy, as it respected spiritual and Divine things, that he resolved on executing the project of having the entire Bible translated into the English language—an enterprise he had for some time meditated. In the execution of this pious design Cranmer divided Tindall's translation of the New Testament into nine or ten parts, which he distributed among the learned bishops, requiring each of them to send back his portion, carefully corrected, by an appointed day. With this injunction they all complied, except Stokesley, bishop of London, whose share of the work was the Acts of the Apostles. When called upon for his share of the work, he sent the following insolent answer:—"I marvel much what my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, and in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour on my portion, and never will: and therefore my lord of Canterbury shall have his back again; for I never will be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." When Cranmer expressed his astonishment at the frowardness of this contumacious bishop, a facetious ecclesiastic, named Lawney, was standing by, and immediately replied:—"I can tell your grace why my lord of London will not bestow any labor upon this work. Your grace knoweth well that his portion is a piece of the New Testament. But he, being persuaded that Christ had bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, thought it were madness to bestow any labor or pain where no gain was to be gotten. And beside this, it was the Acts of the Apostles, which were simple poor fellows, and



therefore my lord of London disdained to have to do with any of them." Whereat, says the historian, my lord of Canterbury and others that stood by could not forbear from laughing! This shows the spirit of the times, and the sort of materials with which Cranmer had to work.

Cranmer, however, persevered in his pious design, and in due time a new translation of the Bible was procured, much to the satisfaction of the people at large, and much more gratifying to those in the higher ranks of life who were eager for the reformation in the Church to go on to perfection. This Bible at first was hung up in the Churches, together with certain cautions to the people respecting the manner in which they were to read it. But the avidity with which they availed themselves of the privilege of consulting the living oracles, is thus recorded by Cranmer's biographer :—

'It is, perhaps, scarcely possible for us to imagine the eagerness with which the people availed themselves of the liberty thus offered them, by the repeated declarations of the king, to consult the sacred volume for themselves. The impatience they manifested may, *in part*, be ascribed to mere curiosity. Men were naturally anxious to examine the writings which had been for ages so jealously locked up from their inspection. Nothing, however, but a higher motive can account for the universal rush to the fountain of living waters, the moment it was unsealed. Every one that could, purchased the book : and if he was unable to read it himself, he got his neighbor to read it to him. Numbers might be seen flocking to the lower end of the church, and forming a little congregation round the *Scripture reader*. Many persons, far advanced in life, actually learned to read, for the express purpose of searching the oracles of God : and one instance has been recorded of a poor boy, only fifteen years of age, who voluntarily incurred the same toil, and then joined his stock with a brother apprentice for the purchase of a Testament, which he concealed under the bed-straw, and perused at stolen moments, undismayed by the reproaches of his mother, and the brutal violence of his father. Nay, such was the general excitement, that, at last, the tavern and the alehouse often became the scenes of religious discussion. The king found it necessary to discourage, by his proclamation, these unseemly debates ; and to enjoin a reference to learned and authorized teachers, on all questions of difficulty or doubt.'

It is characteristic of the times in which Cranmer lived, and much more so of the ferocious temper of his sovereign, while the former was struggling against the abuses of the Romish Church and stemming the torrent of ecclesiastical tyranny, that he should be compelled to witness the ebullitions of a false and fanatical zeal against such as were considered heretics to the Church of England. Though Cranmer had thrown off many of the mummeries of popery, and abjured the authority of the pope, he was not yet emancipated from the thralldom he was under to long-established opinions, nor could he yet see the absurdities of transubstantiation. This relic of a fallen Church he

still held fast. This may account for his acquiescing in the persecution of those who called in question the truth of this dogma. It is no less lamentable than it is derogatory to human nature, that persecution for conscience or even opinion's sake, should ever have been assented to, and more especially by those who otherwise seemed to be actuated with a pure desire to advance the glory of Jesus Christ—a name that ever associates with itself every thing that is amiable—around which cluster all those pacific and mild virtues, which forbid bloodshedding and every species of persecution—and which, therefore, ought to shed such a halo of glory around His sacred name as to shine into darkness every attempt to bring mankind to embrace his religion by coercion.

But in spite of all these pleas for a contrary course, at the time of which we are now speaking, the arm of the civil law was brought in to aid in supporting an opinion for which the Protestants afterward suffered so much themselves. After having declared his firm belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation, Cranmer was brought to sit in judgment upon a man who presumed to differ from him on this point, and to promulgate his opinions. The following account of this melancholy affair we find in the biography before us :—

‘Such were the sentiments which Cranmer brought with him to the trial of the unhappy Lambert. The real name of this man appears to have been Nicolson. He had been first awakened to a sense of Scriptural truth by the preaching of Bilney. He was imprisoned for heresy under Archbishop Warham, but was discharged on Cranmer's accession to the primacy ; and then, in order to avoid farther molestation, he assumed the name of Lambert. Having adopted the notions of Zuinglius respecting the Eucharist, he became known as a *Sacramentary*—a name equally hateful to papists and to Lutherans. Proceedings were instituted against him as a heretic by Dr. Taylor, to whom he had submitted his opinions in writing ; and Cranmer was thus compelled to put him on his defence. In an evil hour, Lambert appealed from the archbishop to the king.

‘This appeal was readily entertained by Henry. He had been stigmatized as the protector of heretical pravity. He was now resolved to repel the calumny, by personally sitting in judgment on a heretic. Westminster hall was prepared for the solemnity : and the ill-fated Sacramentary was summoned to appear before his sovereign, surrounded by all the grandeur of his court. Multitudes were assembled on this occasion, from various parts of the kingdom, to witness the zeal, the learning, and the sagacity of the royal *moderator*. The eye of the prisoner wandered anxiously round this imposing assemblage ; and the proceedings were soon opened by Sampson, bishop of Chichester, in a speech which was but ill-fitted to relieve his apprehensions. The examination was then commenced by Henry himself. On learning that the culprit was known by two names, Henry told him that he would trust no man with two names, though it were his own brother. Lambert pleaded on his knees that he was driven to this expedient by persecution ; and was beginning to compliment his royal judge on his learning and benignity ; but he was sternly interrupted. “I came not

here," said the king, "to hear mine own praises painted out in my presence. Go briefly to the matter." Confounded by this austerity, the man stood silent. "Why standest thou still?" said the king; "answer plainly, is the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, or not?"—"It is present after a manner," replied Lambert, "according to St. Austin."—"Answer me not from St. Austin, or any other," rejoined the king; "but say plainly, is the body of Christ there or not?" Being thus pressed home, the prisoner said, "I deny the Eucharist to be the body of Christ."—"Mark well, then," said his majesty; "thou shalt be condemned by Christ's own words, *Hoc est corpus meum*." With this magnificent burst of theology, Henry closed his own more immediate part in the disputation; and the controversy was then devolved on the primate and the other bishops.

The archbishop opened his arguments in a tone of remarkable moderation; and Lambert defended himself with a readiness and dexterity which embarrassed his learned antagonist, astonished the audience, and seemed even to move the king himself. Gardiner was so much alarmed at the turn of the debate, that he rushed into the contest out of his appointed order; and was followed, in succession, by ten other disputants, among whom, of course, were Tonstal and Stokesley. For five hours together was this friendless and solitary man compelled to endure the baiting of his adversaries, and was silenced at last only by weariness and exhaustion. The inhuman controversy lasted till torch-light. The king then demanded of the prisoner whether he would live or die. Lambert replied that he committed his soul to the mercy of God, and his body to the clemency of his majesty. "Then," answered Henry, "you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics;" and immediately he turned to the vicegerent, and ordered him to read the sentence of condemnation. On the day appointed, Lambert went "without sadness or fear" to his execution. His sufferings at the stake were horribly protracted. "Of all the martyrs," says Fox, "who were burned and offered up at Smithfield, none were so cruelly and piteously handled as he." His lower extremities were first consumed; and his living body, which was left suspended by the chain that fixed it to the stake, was then violently heaved off by the pikes of the sheriff's halberdiers, and cast into the fire that remained; and there he at length ended his miseries, with the exclamation—*None but Christ—none but Christ!*

It is mentioned by Fox as a remarkable circumstance, that the doom of Lambert was accomplished by the instrumentality of *Gospelers*. Rowland Taylor was the man to whom he submitted his propositions. Barnes, on being consulted, advised a reference to the judgment of Cranmer, who, thereupon, was under the necessity of bringing him judicially to question: and Cromwell was the person who pronounced his condemnation. It must, however, be remembered, that these men, though decided patrons of what was contemptuously called the *New Learning*, were none of them, at that time, Sacramentaries; and that the opinions of Lambert were such as, in their estimation, numbered him among the enemies of Christian concord, and obstructors to the course of the Scriptural verity. The sentiments of Cromwell are distinctly expressed by him in a letter to Sir T. Wyatt, the king's ambassador in Germany; though in language which



savors rankly of the servility of the courtier. He there describes Lambert as a *miserable heretic Sacramentary*; and talks sonorously of "the princely gravity and inestimable majesty with which his highness exercised the office of supreme head of the Church of England:" and he wishes that the potentates of Christendom could have been present at the scene, since "undoubtedly they would have much marvelled at his majesty's high wisdom and judgment; and reputed him no otherwise than the mirror and light of all other kings and princes in Christendom." All this fulsome panegyric is very much in the style and manner of that age. It is altogether worthless as a testimony in favor of Cromwell's master: and it is still worse, if contrasted with the description given by Fox of the "fierce countenance" and unfeeling demeanor of the king. But, at all events, it is wholly incredible that such language could have been uttered by any one, whose opinions on the sacramental question were in harmony with those of the accused. With regard to Cranmer, it should always be kept in mind, that the business was not of his seeking—that the delinquent was brought officially before him—that his own conscientious opinions were then in decided opposition to those of the prisoner—and, lastly, that Lambert's chance of mercy would probably have been much more promising, had he been content to leave his case in the hands of the archbishop, instead of appealing to the king.

'Unfortunately, the trial of Lambert was not the only work of the same kind in which the archbishop was involved. For several years past the kingdom had been infested by an influx of Anabaptists from the continent. The name of this sect was derived from their belief that infant baptism was a nullity, and that a repetition of the rite was indispensable to all adults who had received it in their childhood. But with this perversion they combined a multitude of other pernicious principles. They held all liberal arts in utter contempt; they destroyed all books except the Scriptures: they demolished, without remorse, all civil and social institutions; and they made it a matter of conscience to extirpate the *ungodly*, in order that they might establish the *kingdom of Zion*. In short, they were the apostles of anarchy, as well as the patrons of misbelief; and, therefore, nothing could be more reasonable than vigorous, though temperate, measures for the suppression of their doctrines. To this duty, however, the king addressed himself with his usual ferocity. In the preceding October, he had issued a commission to the archbishop, and several other prelates and doctors, empowering them to inquire after persons "suspected for Anabaptists, or for any other *damnable heresy*;" and to institute summary proceedings against all that should be obstinate and irreclaimable. A proclamation followed in November, which ranked the Sacramentarians with the Anabaptists, as "the fellows of their crime;" and ordered that they should be prosecuted to extremity. In the course of the same month, one man and one woman, both natives of Holland, and both Anabaptists, were delivered to the secular arm, and committed to the flames in Smithfield.'

But Cranmer himself narrowly escaped the malignant designs of his enemies. Surrounded as he was by bigoted adherents to the Church of Rome, who strove by every possible method to thwart his attempts

to restore the Church to a godly simplicity, and to banish from her pale the many relics of superstition with which she was disgraced, it was only by the utmost vigilance and circumspection that he escaped their fury, or was prevented from falling a victim to their wily intrigues and wicked conspiracies. Take the following accounts of the plots of his enemies, and the manner in which they were defeated :—

‘ Gardiner was at this time high in the royal confidence and estimation ; and it had of late been generally rumored that his intrigues were manifestly taking a wider range. This persuasion was expressed by the popular saying, that “the bishop of Winchester had bent his bow, and that the shaft was levelled at certain of the head deer.” The sequel proved that, among the game on which his eye was fixed, was Archbishop Cranmer, and a personage still more exalted, even the queen consort of England, Catharine Parr. This lady was the widow of Nevil Lord Latimer, and had been promoted by Henry, in the course of this year, to the dangerous honors of his sixth wife. She was a person of singular virtue, intelligence, and piety ; and, in her heart, a decided friend to the doctrines of the Reformation. Her attachment to Protestant principles was sufficiently well known to reanimate, in some degree, the hopes of the Reformers, and to make her an object of hostility and aversion to the papal party, and more especially to the bishop of Winchester. How nearly he and his confederates succeeded in ultimately accomplishing her ruin is related in all the histories of the time. She was, however, most fortunately preserved from their machinations, and was spared to render effective assistance to the Protestant cause in the course of the succeeding reign.

‘ The primate, as might have been expected, was the other great object of Gardiner’s malignity : and his recent exertions for the correction of the diocese of Canterbury appeared to furnish his adversaries with some advantage against him. Great hopes were entertained that his proceedings for that purpose might be found, in some respect or other, at variance with the statute of the Six Articles ; which, at that period, was rigorously enforced. The greater portion of the prebendaries of his cathedral were still warmly attached to the ancient system ; and they were, consequently, so ill affected toward the archbishop that they could scarcely conceal their malice under a decent exterior of respect. Such men were admirably qualified for the office of conspirators against their diocesan and metropolitan. Deriving great encouragement from the notorious dispositions and powerful influence of Gardiner, they accordingly addressed themselves to the fabrication of a plot for his ruin : and it must be confessed that they pursued their object with unwearied perseverance and consummate craft. A succession of meetings was held,—a regular scheme of perjured agency was organized,—and at length a voluminous mass of articles was collected. By these the archbishop was charged with discouraging and oppressing all preachers who refused to promote the new doctrines ; with removing images which had never been honored in any superstitious manner ; and with various other unlawful abuses of his power ; and, lastly, he was accused of holding a constant correspondence with the heretics of Germany. When the whole of these papers were com-

plete, they were delivered by the prebendaries to the council, and were then speedily deposited in the hands of Henry. His majesty, after perusing them, ordered the chancellor to see certain of the witnesses, and to inform them that they might boldly speak to all matters within their knowledge, fearing none but God and the king.

It so happened that, shortly before this, the king had detected the activity of the bishop of Winchester, in forwarding something of a similar design, against several persons about the court who were known to favor the Gospel : and the discovery began to impress him with a deep personal dislike for this crafty and unscrupulous prelate. Accordingly, no sooner had he well considered the papers against Cranmer, than it rushed into his mind that the whole could be nothing more than a confederacy for his destruction, and that Gardiner was the life and soul of the design. Upon this conviction he acted with his usual promptness. He, one evening, ordered his barge, and repaired immediately to Lambeth, carrying with him the articles in his sleeve : and as soon as the primate appeared on the steps by the water side, he called him into the barge, and said to him, "O my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent!" He then produced the papers, and desired Cranmer to inspect them. The astonishment and agitation of the archbishop were excessive, on finding that members of his own church, who were under obligation to him, and magistrates whom he had treated with kindness and respect, were now engaged in an atrocious league against him. He immediately kneeled down before the king, and solicited that the whole affair should be sifted by a commission. "A commission," said the king, "there shall be ; but the archbishop of Canterbury shall be the chief commissioner, with such colleagues as he himself shall be pleased to appoint." It was to no purpose for Cranmer to remonstrate against the apparent partiality of such an arrangement. The king was inflexible ; and Cranmer was compelled to plunge into the labyrinth of this painful investigation : till Henry, finding that he was in danger of being baffled by the artifices of his accusers, sent Dr. Legh and Dr. Rowland Taylor (the martyr) to bring the matter to a speedy conclusion. The new commissioners proceeded with the necessary vigor and despatch. The houses of several of the conspirators were searched ; and the result was the complete unravelling of a tissue of falsehood, perjury, and ingratitude which would have been disgraceful even to men whose regular trade was villany and fraud. Among the correspondence found in their chests, some letters were discovered from the bishop of Winchester ; others from Thornden and Dr. Barber, who had both experienced the benevolence of the primate. The former of these worthless men, Thornden, was once a monk of Canterbury, and the first prebendary of the Church, when it became a college of secular canons. He was, soon after, made suffragan of the diocese, with the title of Bishop of Dover. He never attended the archbishop without being invited to a seat at his own high table, an honor at that time seldom conferred on persons of his rank : and now he was found among the practisers against the reputation and the life of his patron. The submission of these wretches was as abject as their perfidy was odious : and so was that of the prebendary Gardiner, a despicable tool of the prelate his namesake. He had been



treated by Cranmer like a son; and yet was among the foremost in the conspiracy. When he was discovered, he crawled to the feet of his injured benefactor, and besought his forgiveness in a letter addressed to "*His most honorable father.*" The primate, with his customary lenity, dismissed his persecutors with a mild rebuke and a full pardon: and by this eminent triumph of the Christian temper, he verified the saying which had long been current respecting him, "Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever."

By way of relief from this hateful exhibition of malignity, let us turn for a moment to the fate of the chief incendiaries. Dr. London, one of the most active among them, died not long after in the Fleet; probably of a spirit incurably broken by the disgrace of the pillory, which he brought upon himself by his perjuries as a prosecutor under the statute of the bloody articles. The prebendary Gardiner was hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for denying the king's supremacy. And Gardiner the bishop was so irretrievably lowered in the opinion of the king, that although his majesty still found it convenient to employ his diplomatic energy and shrewdness, he was never fully restored to the royal confidence or regard. Every one knows into what public infamy he afterward merged as the chancellor of Mary; and how he closed his life, engrained with the sanguinary honors of a persecutor.

In the month of December this year, the archbishop sustained a severe domestic calamity. His palace at Canterbury was destroyed by fire, and his brother-in-law, with several other persons, perished in the flames. The misfortune disabled him from entertaining the Viceroy of Naples, who, in consequence of it, was consigned by the king to the hospitality of Lord Cobham.

The year 1544 was happily remarkable for another proof that the influence of the primate was not entirely destroyed. That he still retained considerable power in the councils of his sovereign, seems evident from an act which was passed in the parliament which met in January, 1544, for mitigating the severity of the statute of the Six Articles. The efforts of the primate to obtain this indulgence were encountered both by opposition and by treachery. He was encouraged by four prelates to expect their assistance. To a man, however, they all deserted him; and left him to an apparently desperate conflict with the popish party. His exertions were probably rendered more hopeful by the recent and abortive attempts of his adversaries, which may have disposed both the legislature and the sovereign to a favorable entertainment of his wise and merciful propositions. But, however this may be, his exertions were followed by an act of parliament, which provided that no person should be put to his trial for any offence against the Six Articles but upon the oath of twelve men,—that the presentment should be made within one year after the offence committed,—that no person should be arrested for any such offence before he should be indicted,—and, lastly, that any accusation for speaking or reading in opposition to the Articles should be preferred within forty days of the alleged delinquency. By this statute the edge of the sanguinary enactment was in some degree blunted, and malicious conspiracy disarmed of a portion of its terrors.

The confusion recently heaped upon the enemies of Cranmer did

not, however, extinguish the spirit of malignity which had of late been so dangerously active against him. In the same parliament which mitigated the operation of the Six Articles, a fiery papist, named Sir John Gostwick, complained that the archbishop, in his sermons at Canterbury and Sandwich, had spoken heretically on the sacrament of the altar. This man was a stranger in Kent, and had never heard a syllable from the lips of the person he accused. When the matter came to the ears of the king, his indignation knew no bounds. "Tell that *varlet* Gostwick," he said, "that he has played a villanous part, to abuse, in open parliament, the primate of the realm. If he does not instantly acknowledge his fault to my lord of Canterbury, I will make him the poorest Gostwick that ever bore the name. What! does he pretend that he, being in Bedfordshire, could hear my lord of Canterbury preaching in Kent?" The roar of the lion silenced the busy *varlet* in a moment, and brought him in sore dismay, and with all possible speed, to Lambeth; where he submitted himself "in such sorrowful case," that he obtained from the placable archbishop, not only his free forgiveness, but the good offices of his intercession with the king. His majesty was not quite so easily appeased; but relaxed his wrath at last, on the condition that he should hear no more of this meddling knight of Bedfordshire. It is evident that at this period Henry was distinctly and painfully aware of the sleepless enmity which was perpetually dogging every step of Cranmer. When he first heard of Gostwick's attempt against him he exclaimed, "What would they do with him if I were gone?" The same sentiment had, indeed, been expressed by him long before this in a manner which has in it something more of delicacy and pathos than usually entered into the feelings of this stern and arbitrary man. As if he anticipated that the primate would at length be called to show himself "faithful unto death" in the cause of truth, the king is said to have erased the three cranes from his armorial device, and to have substituted three pelicans in their stead; observing, that "those birds should signify unto him, that he must be ready, as the pelican is, to shed his blood for his young ones, nurtured in the faith of Christ. For," said he, "your blood is likely to be tasted, if you stand thus firmly to your tackling in defence of your religion." One is accustomed to imagine that Henry was made of "sterner stuff" than to originate a suggestion of this interesting cast.

The forms of public devotion were greatly improved, this year, by the introduction of an English litany, with suffrages or responses; the whole essentially similar to that which, at this day, is in use among us. The invocation to the virgin, to angels, and to saints, for their intercession, was, however, still retained; and a petition was introduced for deliverance "from the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities." Certain devotional exercises were added, compiled from Scripture generally, but more especially from the Psalms; and a paraphrase of the Lord's prayer was subjoined, which presents a striking approximation to the true sense of Christ's presence in the sacrament. In conformity to the ancient notion, that the petition for *daily bread* contained a mystic allusion to the Eucharist, the following expressions are introduced,—"*The lively bread* of the blessed body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the sacred cup of the precious

and blessed blood which was shed for us upon the cross,"—words which the most rigid Protestant might adopt without the slightest scruple. That these salutary innovations were substantially the work of Cranmer can scarcely be doubted. The royal ordinance which enjoins them is distinguished by a tone of pious solemnity, that seems to mark the archbishop for the author of that document; and a letter addressed by him in October to the king, respecting the preparation of certain services in English, to be used on festival days, places it beyond all doubt that he was the effective mover and agent in these useful measures of reform.

These, however, although valuable, were still but undecisive advantages. In spite of the almost Sisyphean labors of the primate, there seemed to be about his path some hidden power, perpetually in readiness to roll back the stone which he was toiling to heave upward. The truth is, that the spirit of Gardiner was well nigh omnipresent. The king disliked, and often mistrusted the man: but still he found his activity and penetration useful, and so continued to employ him. In the course of this year he was sent by Henry to reside at the imperial court; and Cranmer was in hopes that his absence would, for the time, relieve the march of the Reformation from impediment. But in this expectation he was grievously disappointed. Not a step could be taken by him but it was speedily known to his vigilant adversary; and before he could make any effectual progress, a despatch arrived from Gardiner to intercept the royal sanction, and to represent that any farther innovation would fatally injure the continental designs and interests of his master. In addition to this unceasing resistance, the archbishop had to deplore the retirement of Lord Audley, who had held the seals from the time of Sir T. More's resignation, and who was now succeeded by the Lord Wriothesley, unhappily a decided adherent of Romanism. A still more calamitous loss was sustained by the death of the duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to the king, "a right hardy gentleman, but withal so discreet and affable, that he was beloved of all sorts, and his death greatly lamented." His open straightforwardness of character, and his abstinence from political intrigue, secured him, without interruption, the attachment and confidence of the king; and enabled him to exert a steady, though noiseless influence in favor of the Protestants, whose religious principles he had uniformly maintained.

It might naturally be supposed that the terrible failure experienced by the persecutors of Cranmer in the preceding year would have crushed effectually the hopes and devices of his adversaries. But it was not so. The former confederacy had been chiefly conducted by Churchmen. Another attempt of the same kind was now got up, under the patronage of the duke of Norfolk, and other members of the council. The snake had been scotched but not destroyed. There was still remaining in the diocese of Canterbury a residue of hostility and malice, which, with the aid of noble and powerful men, might be easily wrought up into another formidable plot. The process by which, on this occasion, the caldron was filled and heated, is not distinctly to be ascertained. Thus much however is known—that, very soon after the duke of Suffolk was in his grave, a complaint was laid before the king by certain members of his council, that "the arch-



bishop and his learned men had so infected the whole realm with their unsavory doctrine, that three parts out of four in the land were abominable heretics." And the suit of the petitioners was, that, out of pure regard for the safety of his majesty and the peace of his dominions, "the archbishop might immediately be committed to the tower." And when his majesty appeared to hesitate, they most dutifully represented that the primate "was a member of the privy council: that if he were left at liberty no mortal would dare to utter a syllable against him: but that, if he were once in durance, the tongues and consciences of men would immediately be released from all restraint, and his majesty's counsellors would be enabled to search out the truth." To this incomparable reasoning his majesty gave, to all appearance, the fullest acquiescence: and he authorized his trusty advisers to summon the archbishop for the next day, and if they should see fit, to order him into custody.

At eleven o'clock the same night, Henry despatched Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth, with an order that Cranmer should instantly attend him at Westminster. The archbishop, on receiving the message, arose from his bed, and repaired to the king, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. His majesty immediately communicated to him the charges which had been preferred against him by the council, gravely adding that he had acceded to their request. On this, Cranmer, with the humblest acknowledgments, protested his entire willingness to be committed to the tower, provided always that he might not be deprived of the liberty of defending himself against his accusers. On this the king burst out—"O Lord God, what simplicity is yours, to submit to an imprisonment that must end in your ruin! Know you not this—that no sooner shall you be in the tower, than false knaves shall instantly come forward to arraign you,—who, if you were at liberty, should not dare to show their face? No, no,—not so, my lord of Canterbury. Go you to the council to-morrow; and when you appear before them, demand to be confronted with your accusers. Should there be a moment's hesitation, produce this ring, the sight of which will instantly bring the matter before me."

The next morning Cranmer followed implicitly the instructions of his sovereign. By eight o'clock he was in attendance on the council. They were not immediately prepared to call him in; and he was left in their anteroom among the lackeys and serving-men in waiting. This brutal insult was soon reported to Dr. Butts, the king's physician; who, on entering the royal apartment, mentioned that he had seen a strange sight that morning. The king desired him to explain: on which Butts replied, the primate of all England is become a serving man: and, for the greater part of an hour he has been standing among his brethren of that function, at the door of the council chamber."—"Ha!" said Henry, "is it so! they shall hear of this before long."—At last Cranmer was summoned; and when he had heard the complaint against him, he required that his accusers might be called before them, in his presence. This righteous request was made in vain. Their lordships insisted on his immediate commitment to the tower. On this he produced the ring delivered to him by his majesty the night before. This most unwelcome apparition threw the august assembly into utter confusion; and extorted from Lord Russell the

following exclamation,—confirmed with a mighty oath—"Said I not true, my lords, that the king would never endure that my lord of Canterbury should be disgraced by imprisonment, for any cause less than arraignment of high treason?"

'The magic of the ring brought the whole conclave, together with the supposed delinquent, at once into the royal presence. "I thought," said Henry, "that I had a discreet council. But what am I to say now? Is my lord of Canterbury a slave, that you should keep him at the door of your chamber, like a serving man? What would any of you say if an indignity like this were offered to yourselves? I would have your lordships to understand that the realm of England contains not a more faithful subject than I have ever found in my lord of Canterbury: and he that pretends attachment to me must be ready to show respect and honor to him." On this, the voice of deprecation and apology began, incontinently, to issue from the lips of the astounded courtiers. "They meant no sort of injury to his grace of Canterbury. They requested, it is true, that he might be committed to the tower; but their sole object was that he might come forth from his confinement with augmented reputation and glory."—"Is it even so?" said Henry; "think ye, then, that I discern not how the world goeth among you? Think ye that I see not the malice which sets you one against another? I counsel you, let it be avoided *out of hand*. And never again let my friends receive such usage as this at your hand." With these words he left them: and the scene that followed was eminently pacific. The men who ten minutes before had been digging a pitfall for his feet now held out to Cranmer the right hand of reconciliation and friendship. The pledge was accepted by him with his usual clemency of temper; and the king again desired that the peace might be ratified between them at the hospitable board of Lambeth Palace.'

The death of Henry soon after, and the elevation of his son, Edward VI, then only 10 years of age, wrought so favorably for the good designs of Cranmer, that the work of reformation went forward with alacrity. The primate was enabled to visit his see unmolestedly, to reform abuses, to put worthy clergymen into office: and although violently opposed by the popish party, many salutary regulations were introduced into the formularies of the Church, and laws passed to protect the rights of Englishmen in their attempts to purify the land. It was at the commencement of this reign that the twelve homilies were prepared, which have ever since been appealed to as standards of orthodoxy in the Church of England. Among other things which were introduced was the order for administering the eucharist in both kinds to the laity—the declaration that the doctrine of transubstantiation is unscriptural—the abolishment of image worship, invocation to the saints, and the free liberty to read the sacred Scriptures.

But it is a lamentable evidence of the weakness of human nature, that man is ever prone to run from one extreme to another. While Cranmer and his coadjutors were employed in rooting out the bitter

and luxuriant weeds of popery, which had overrun the kingdom of England; the majority of the nation were hurried onward, as with a frenzied impatience, to extirpate even the good as well as the bad—to bury all in one common heap of ruins. The light of the reformation having detected the scenes of abomination which had been secretly practised in the monasteries and the nunneries, such a burst of indignation was heard from all quarters, that it was impossible to restrain the people within the bounds of moderation in manifesting their hatred to these institutions. And as the spoils of these houses, many of which were extremely wealthy, enabled Henry to indulge himself the more freely in his lust for sensuality and temporal aggrandizement, he seized them with a rapacity only equalled by his daring despotism, and the glaring inconsistency of his character and conduct. The waters of contention, being thus let loose by this depredator upon the rights of his fellow men, continued to flow on during the short reign of Edward VI, until they finally swept these venerable vestiges of ancient piety and benevolence from the land. In vain did Cranmer lift up his voice against these spoliations. The temptation was too strong to be resisted. The avaricious and the voluptuous were impelled on by their thirst of gain and desire of indulgence. The pious part of the community, of but moderate attainments, just emerging from the darkness of popery, assisted in demolishing these houses, because they thought them nurseries of wickedness and sewers for the profligate; while the better informed of both parties beheld in them the fruits of that early benevolence which characterized the first Christians, now abused by a degenerated race, but which, if properly reformed, might still be turned to a good account, by being converted into means of mental and moral improvement. They, however, were generally swept by the board, as nuisances which could not be tolerated. This is now generally lamented by the English nation, and more especially when it is recollected the unholy purposes to which the property was appropriated.

In the midst of the agitations of the times, the primate applied himself with all diligence and fidelity to correct the errors which he saw were deluding the multitude, and to purify the Church as much as possible from that mass of defilement which had been accumulating for ages.

The unsettled condition of the public mind, at this period, is very strongly indicated by the tenor of the Articles of Inquiry proposed by the archbishop at the visitation of his diocese, held by him in the course of the summer of this year. His questions are very numerous—no less than eighty-six; and they embrace almost every point of discipline which had been inculcated in the injunctions of the present and the preceding reign. The questions respecting the demeanor of the laity are more particularly important, as betraying the turbulent



and contumacious temper of the times. They inquired whether there were any who obstructed the reading of God's word in English, or the faithful exposition of it by the preacher; whether any left the church in the time of the litany, common prayer, or sermon; whether bells were rung during the service; whether holy water was abused by sprinkling it on beds; whether private holydays were observed by tradesmen, (in honor of the patron saints of their respective crafts;) whether priests and ministers were insulted and abused; whether those who were ignorant of Latin used the devotions of the English Primer; whether there was any brawling or jangling in the church while the prayers or homilies were read, or the sermon preached; whether charms and sorceries were still practised; whether the parish church were deserted by any of the congregation, for other places of worship; and whether there were any who despised the married clergy, and refused the sacraments at their hands. One may see distinctly, in such inquiries as these, a picture of the confusion,—we might almost say the anarchy,—which marked the *interregnum* between the dominion of the Romish Church and the establishment of a better system. We may, likewise, read there a very intelligible history of the protracted martyrdom to be undergone by those patient spirits who had to conduct the public mind through this vexed abyss, and to buffet their way through the embroilment of its “surging fires” and conflicting atoms. And, surely, our gratitude is due to that gracious Providence which enabled them to form, as they advanced, a solid and substantial mole on which they might be followed, with confidence, until the people could plant their foot upon the broad and firm ground, and could lift their eyes steadily to the pure light of heaven.’

Aided by the piety of the youthful monarch, and seconded by a re-forming parliament, Cranmer proceeded with a steady and firm hand in the work of reformation, and though often perplexed and disheartened by the general prevalence of ignorance and vice, as well as the remaining abettors of the Romish hierarchy, he succeeded in removing the veil from the truths of religion, and presenting them in their native simplicity and purity to the minds of the people. To accomplish this object with the greater facility, he held a constant correspondence with the reformers on the continent, and even entertained a number of them at his house, among whom were Martin Bucer, Paulus Fagius, Peter Martyr, and Bernardine Ochinus, all men famous for their labors in the field of reformation, and were therefore great helps to Cranmer in his arduous work of purifying the Church of England. The letter of the archbishop to Bucer, who was then in trouble and danger in consequence of the promulgation of what was called the Interim, inviting him to come over to England, is so expressive of the Christian spirit by which he was actuated, that we give it entire.

‘The grace and peace of God be with you. I have read your letters to John Hales, in which you relate the disastrous events in Germany, and write that you are unable any longer to preside over the ministry of the word, in your own city. I have, therefore, with

groans, exclaimed, in the words of the prophet, *Show forth the wonders of thy mercy, Thou that dost save all that hope in thee, from them that resist thy right hand.* Neither do I doubt but that God will hear this, and the like groanings of pious men; and will preserve and defend the true doctrine, which has hitherto been sincerely propagated in your Churches, against all the fury of the devil and the world. In the mean time, while the storm is raging, they who cannot venture out to sea must fly into port. To you, therefore, my friend Bucer, our kingdom will be the safest harbour; in which, by the blessing of God, the seeds of true doctrine have begun to be scattered abroad. Come, then, to us; and become a laborer with us in the harvest of the Lord. You will not be less profitable to the Catholic Church of God, when you are among us, than if you were to retain your former position. Besides, you will, when absent, be better able to heal the wounds of your own afflicted country, than you now can, being present. Put aside, therefore, all delay, and repair to us as soon as possible. We will show that nothing can be more welcome or delightful to us than the presence of Bucer. But be careful that you suffer no inconvenience on your journey. You well know the enemies that will pursue you on your way: see that you do not commit yourself to their hands. There is a merchant, one Richard Hills, a man signally religious and trustworthy, with whom you may confer concerning the whole arrangement of your journey. Farther, with my whole heart, I pray to the Eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, in his wrath, he will remember mercy, and look on the calamities of the afflicted Church, and kindle the light of the true doctrine among us more and more. With you it has been shining for many years, and He will not suffer it to be extinguished. May He, my dear friend Bucer, direct and preserve you, and bring you to us in safety. Farewell. London, 2d Oct. 1548.—Your arrival is heartily desired by Thomas Cranmer, Archiep. Cantuar.'

As there have been many disputes respecting the Calvinism of the Church of England, some contending that it is contained in the 39 articles, particularly in the 17th, and others vehemently maintaining the contrary opinion, we give the following historical account of the manner in which these articles were compiled:—

'The history of this compilation, so far as dates are concerned, is briefly as follows: in the course of 1551, the archbishop received the orders of the king in council to commence the work. In the May following, the first draft of it was completed, and laid before the council. In the month of September, in the same year, it was again in the hands of the archbishop for the purpose of revision; and on the 19th of September was submitted, with corrections, to Sir John Cheke, the king's tutor, and to Secretary Cecil, who was frequently consulted by Cranmer in matters relating to the settlement of religion. On the 2d of October the draft was delivered over to the six royal chaplains, Harley, Bill, Horne, Grindal, Perne, and the renowned John Knox, who was then in England, and attached to the court. On the 20th of November, Cranmer received it back; and having given it his last revision, he returned it to the council on the 24th of November, toge-

ther with a letter, expressing the sentiments above adverted to, and containing a petition that they would procure an order from the king, authorizing the bishops to cause all their clergy to subscribe the Articles in question. The king's final mandate to this effect was not issued till May, 1553, a few days before his death. So that upward of two years elapsed between the first order for their preparation and the time of their final appearance with the royal sanction.

'It may be presumed that the chief causes of the very deliberate progress of this work were, first, the unwillingness of the archbishop to surrender all hope of accomplishing the more comprehensive design of Melancthon; and, secondly, the anxiety of himself and his associates in the task to send it into the world as complete and invulnerable as knowledge or industry could make it. The history of the times does not enable us to trace it clearly from its first imperfect draft to its last and finished state. The Confession of Augsburg was probably one main source from which the compilation was derived. But there is considerable reason for believing that the articles agreed on between the English and German divines, in 1538, was the authority more immediately in contemplation. Who were the principal coadjutors of the archbishop, in the completion of this work, has not been ascertained. It is scarcely credible that he would proceed a step in such an undertaking without at least consulting Ridley and the other most eminent Churchmen attached to the Reformation. But it is scarcely doubtful that the main responsibility rested upon Cranmer himself. Indeed, he afterward nearly confessed as much in his examination before Brokes. According to the official report of those proceedings in Latin, he allowed that his judgment and counsel had been employed in putting forth the Catechism and Articles.

'There still hangs some obscurity about the question, by what ecclesiastical authority these 42 Articles were submitted to the king in council. They were first published by Grafton, the king's printer, in July, 1553, with the following title—"Articles agreed on by the bishops, and other learned men in England, in the Synod, 1552." In the same year there was published a catechism, "commended by royal authority to all schoolmasters;" and to this catechism were subjoined the articles agreed on in the last Convocation of London, A. D. 1552, by the bishops and other learned men. In this publication, it is evident that the Articles appear merely as an adjunct, or appendix; and for this reason it was that the whole together usually went by the name of "*The Catechism*." It also appears that the title of the work distinctly claims the authority of the synod for the Articles themselves; but that it makes no such claim on behalf of the catechism which accompanied them. It is farther remarkable that in the reign of Elizabeth the amended Articles were set forth with a recital, which speaks of the original ones as agreed upon by the synod of 1552.

'But, notwithstanding this evidence, it is asserted by Burnet, that the Articles never received the sanction both of the upper and lower houses of convocation, although he admits that they were probably submitted to the consideration of the upper house. The confusion has, probably, arisen from the circumstance stated above,—namely,



that the Articles which were sanctioned by the convocation, were printed together with the catechism, which had *not* received that sanction; but which, yet, with this mark of inferiority upon it, gave its name to the whole publication, Articles included. With what precise degree of formality the authority of the Convocation may have been given to the Articles must, indeed, still remain a matter of dispute. Their title imports that they had been agreed upon, in convocation, *by the bishops and other learned men*; which may possibly imply, that they were not regularly discussed in full synod, but that they were settled by a committee chosen out of both houses, and authorized to consent in the name of the whole, as the preface to the Latin edition of the Articles would seem to indicate.

It is probable that the final promulgation of this *form of sound words* was impatiently expected by all who were anxious for the restoration of the Gospel. One zealous man, Bishop Hoper, who afterward underwent the baptism of fire at the stake, was urgent in his protestations against delay: for it appears that, in 1552, this prelate had obtained a copy of the Articles, which he had caused the clergy of his diocese to subscribe. This measure, however, had been found to be wholly inefficacious; for, in the July of the same year, he wrote as follows, to Secretary Cecil:—"For the love of God, cause the Articles, that the king's majesty spake of when we took our oaths, to be set forth by his authority. I doubt not but they shall do much good: for I will cause every minister to confess them *openly before their parishioners*. For *subscribing privately in the paper, I perceive, little availeth*. For, notwithstanding that, they speak as evil of good faith, as ever they did before they subscribed." Indeed, nearly the whole of the foregoing narrative must show that the state of religion was such as loudly called for some authoritative standard of public opinion. It has appeared, but too clearly, that, when the papal system was broken to pieces in England, a multitude of smaller papacies sprang up out of the fragments. Sometimes the *infallibility* was transferred to the leader of a petty sect: at other times a dreaming enthusiast would become his own pope, and would consult nothing but the oracle within his own breast. Tradition, indeed, was deposed from its usurped dominion; but the legitimate authority of Scripture frequently gained but little from the change. One usurpation was only followed by another; and reason was elevated to the vacant throne, which ought to have been filled by the majesty of revelation. The personal nature and dignity of the Saviour began to be a subject of rash discussion among men, who looked with contempt upon the mysticism of the fanatic; and the fanatic, on his part, repaid their scorn with an ample measure of that abhorrence which is due to positive blasphemy! The papist had diluted down the depravity of our nature, till it had well nigh lost its noxious and fatal quality; and, if he did not altogether discard the grace of God, he treated it as a sort of very humble auxiliary to the moral powers of man. But strange, indeed, was the divergency of the paths by which the truth was sought, when once the ancient errors were abandoned. On one hand, the enthusiast invested the grace of God with an irresistible sovereignty, and pronounced upon the capacities of human nature a desperate sentence of attainder, leaving the children of Adam almost

without a relic of that power which is needful for the responsible agency of any created being. On the other hand, the Anabaptist derided the corruption of our faculties as an idle and visionary fancy ; and lifted up his heel against the doctrines of Divine grace, as he would lift it up against idolatry or superstitious vanity. What was still more to be lamented, these courses, widely diverse as they were, both of them led the wanderer into regions where virtue, as well as faith, was constantly in danger of shipwreck : and the effect was seen in the licentious principles and the profligate habits which were contracted in those wild voyages of religious discovery ; and which seemed, at times, to threaten little less than a dissolution of the whole fabric of society. The picture here presented of the condition of morals and religion at this feverish period may, perhaps, appear to be rather fiercely colored : but its correctness is unhappily vindicated, not merely by the passionate invective of adversaries, but by the bitter, and almost despairing complaints of the leaders of reformation. And it is absolutely necessary that our eye should steadily be fixed upon it, if we would form an accurate judgment of the views which guided the compilation of our articles of religion.

‘It is well known that this formulary is frequently and confidently appealed to, at the present day, by persons who fancy that its compilers discovered a system of qualified fatalism in the scheme of Christian redemption : and, by such persons, the great body of the clergy of the Church of England are sometimes challenged to look into the articles they have subscribed, and there to read themselves convicted of apostasy from the faith of the *Reformers*. It forms no part of our design to furnish a controversial reply to this misconception. It may, nevertheless, be expedient to present to the reader’s attention certain prominent considerations, which may enable him to form a safe and competent judgment on the point.

‘In the first place, then, it is to be recollected that Archbishop Cranmer must, beyond all question, be regarded as the chief compiler of the Articles of 1552 : and nothing, I believe, would be more hopeless than the attempt to show that the doctrine of personal predestination, or any other opinion of the same kindred, ever, for an instant, darkened his creed. The spirit which animated his proceedings was principally Lutheran ; and Melancthon was the representative of Lutheranism, to whom his thoughts were constantly directed. Now there is no one point in the history of the Reformation more indisputable than this, that Melancthon was the adversary of every thing resembling fatalism, whether philosophical or Christian, and that, when Calvin began to build up his scheme of predestination, the author of the Augsburg Confession was deaf to all the applications by which the “Zeno of his day” (as he was then frequently termed) endeavored to win him over to something like conformity with his notions. It is true that Melancthon, (as well as Luther,) in the outset of his inquiries, got himself entangled in what he afterward called sometimes the *Stoical* and sometimes the *Manichean* perversions. But it is also undeniable that he very speedily extricated himself from the labyrinth, and intimated his deliverance to the world by expunging the ungracious doctrines from his *Loci Theologici* so early as the year 1535. Luther, indeed, made no formal retraction of any opinion : he was



without leisure, or without patience for a revisal of his writings. But in his last work of importance he laments that, after his death, his writings would probably fortify multitudes in their errors and "*delirations*;" and he therefore adds a solemn warning, that we are not to inquire concerning the *predestination* of a hidden God, but purely to acquiesce in the things which are revealed by our vocation and the ministry of the word.

'Such were the models which Cranmer had perpetually before his eyes: and there can be no reasonable doubt that his own personal views respecting these questions were, throughout, substantially in harmony with theirs. That he had no esteem for doctrines savoring of fatalism may be collected from a letter of his to Cromwell, in which he mentions a turbulent and fanatical priest, who, in spite of all that *his own chaplains* could do with him in the way of reasoning, was immovably persuaded that, like Esau, he was created unto damnation, and was with great difficulty prevented from putting an end to his suspense by self-destruction. The same thing may farther be concluded from his selection of the paraphrase of Erasmus as a book of popular instruction; for Erasmus was the rational champion of the freedom of the human will, and the adversary of all extravagance, whether in the shape of superstition or fanaticism. It is rendered next to certain by the general tenor of his own writings, in which he appears as the decided advocate of universal redemption, and an election, through baptism, to the privileges of the Christian covenant; doctrines conspicuous in the liturgical offices of our Church, but at mortal variance with the whole theory of Calvin.

'It must farther be considered, that to claim the Articles of 1552 as monuments of a *Calvinistic* faith is, in truth, little better than a downright anachronism. It was not till late in the year 1551 that Calvin began to be renowned as the great champion of the predestinarian doctrine. That he maintained this doctrine before that period is, indeed, unquestionable: but his notions had then brought him any thing but homage and reputation. On the contrary, they exposed him to invective, even within his own narrow sphere, as the abettor of a system which made God the author of sin. The attack upon him, in his Church, by Jerome Bolsec, in 1551, was a signal for the formal commencement of the controversy subsequently known by the denomination of *Calvinistic*: and it is the boast of Theodore Beza, (the disciple, and almost the worshipper of Calvin,) that, in consequence of these debates, the questions relative to the free will of man, and the decrees of God, were illustrated with a distinctness *utterly unknown to the ancient Christian writers*. Combine with these circumstances the fact, that the compilation of our Articles was completed early in 1552, and the absurdity of ascribing to them a Calvinistic origin will be irresistibly obvious. The fame of the mighty master himself was, at that time, but just above the horizon. The way to his future supremacy was, for the most part, still to be won. So that the world, as yet, was scarcely in full possession of the secret which, according to the confession of Beza, had well nigh escaped the sagacity of the primitive doctors of the Church.

'It is another important consideration, that, if the Articles were dictated by a reverential regard for the sentiments either of Calvin or Au-



gustine, the framers of them must have made up their minds to pour contempt on their own liturgy. A collection of offices like ours, followed up by a decidedly predestinarian confession, would have been a perfect monster. No one who has ever studied the character of Archbishop Cranmer can believe that he would have lent his name to a combination so extravagant. Nothing can be more unlike the cautious and wary temper of his proceedings than a sudden leap, from the ground on which he had labored for the preparation of our liturgy, into the dark abyss of Calvinistic fatalism. His mantle fell, at length, upon a Protestant successor, animated by a spirit similar to his own. Early in the reign of Elizabeth the Articles were revised under the superintendence of Archbishop Parker; but even then no infusion of Calvinism was admitted. The source of the corrections was, manifestly, the confession of Wirtemberg, (a compendium of the Lutheran confession of Augsburg,) drawn up in 1551 for the purpose of being exhibited to the Council of Trent, and not impressed with a single lineament of Calvinism. In the course of time, however, men of a different spirit succeeded. The Calvinistic fever became, for awhile, almost epidemic; and toward the end of Elizabeth's reign certain of our leading divines, with our *truly* Catholic liturgy before their eyes, labored to perfect our Articles by an ample introduction of the Genevan doctrine. A subsequent testimony to the liberal spirit of this confession was borne, at a later period, by the Westminster divines, whose first attempt at remodelling the Church was a review of the Articles, and this, too, with the avowed design of making them "more determinate in favor of Calvinism;" a design which was still cherished by the same party at the celebrated Savoy Conference, after the Restoration. If, then, Archbishop Cranmer and his coadjutors intended to give a Calvinistic complexion to their performance, they must have wrought in that behalf like very timid or unskilful artists. The whole Anglican Reformation never found much favor in the eyes of the Genevan school even at the period of its completion; and it appears that, subsequently to that period, the same school has been repeatedly at work to bring that Reformation to a more worthy conformity with their own model of exclusion.

It has been sometimes intimated that the very moderation of Cranmer was not, in reality, his own, but that it was actually forced upon him by the unhappy peculiarities of his position; that he was, all along, a puritan in his heart; and that the liturgy itself was a monument, not of his sobriety of spirit, but rather of the ungodly compulsion which withheld him from more effectual improvement. A report of this description was circulated among the English exiles at Frankfort during the reign of persecution. It was affirmed, upon the alleged authority of Bullinger, that "Cranmer had drawn up a Book of Prayers a hundred times more perfect than that which was then in being, but that he was defeated in his attempts to bring it forward, partly by the wickedness of the clergy and convocation, and partly by the devices of his other adversaries." A rumor like this is, upon the face of it, well nigh self-destructive. It is in manifest contradiction to the whole tenor of Cranmer's life and opinions. The sort of *perfection* which, according to this surmise, he would (if left in a state of complete free agency) have introduced into the Service book may easily

be imagined ; and it is very safe to affirm that of such *perfection* he never was enamored at any period of his life. We have seen above how vigorously he resisted the fantastic scruples of Bishop Hoper, relative to the episcopal habit,—and this even when those scruples were countenanced by the sovereign himself ; and it is hardly credible that he who made so resolute a stand against the puritanical spirit, in a matter of mere external form, was ever prepared to give it encouragement in questions supposed to involve the vital principles of Christianity. But, farther, the notion is in direct opposition to the indisputable fact, that, at the period of this compilation, the ascendancy of Cranmer, at least in matters of religion, was more commanding than ever. He possessed the confidence of the council, and was generally sure of their support, except when he withstood their profligate schemes of spoliation. His wisdom, learning, and long experience secured him the reverence of the divines ; and his influence was, altogether, such as to overpower, for the time, the resistance of all but the most bigoted and incorrigible Romanists. To imagine, therefore, upon the strength of a hearsay report from Zurich, that the opinions of the archbishop had been overruled in an affair of such importance as the composition of a national liturgy, would be to deal with evidence in a manner unheard of among reasonable men. Besides, it is far from easy to comprehend how the “wicked clergy and convocation,” who would not hear of a “*more perfect*” liturgy, should, nevertheless, patiently endure an approach to puritanical *perfection* in a national formulary of religious doctrine.

‘The truth of the matter is, that the English reformers framed their Articles, not as a wall of partition between Protestant and Protestant, but as a bulwark against the perversions with which the scholastic theology had disfigured the simplicity of the Gospel. So far as they had an eye to the disputes which were beginning to distract the Protestant world, comprehension, and not exclusion was, manifestly, their purpose. *Mitigation of controversies* was the grand object which Melancthon had constantly upon his lips, and in his heart : and, in precisely the same spirit, our original Articles, as their title professes, were framed “for the *avoiding of controversy* in opinions, and the establishment of a *godly concord* in certain matters of religion.” And it cannot be denied that, upon the whole, the success of the project was answerable to its liberal design ; for, in spite of the discordant speculations which agitated the Church and kingdom in the time of James I, that monarch felt himself in a condition to affirm, in the declaration prefixed by him to the Articles, that “all clergymen within his realm had always most willingly subscribed them.” The only key, therefore, which can readily unlock the true sense of the Articles is a knowledge,—not of the opinions which afterward rent the great Protestant community into fragments,—but of the papal doctrines against which the main struggle of the reformers had been carried on from the very first. The schoolmen, for instance, held that original sin was little more than a corporeal or physical infection ; that it introduced into the human system a *fomes peccati*,—a fuel of mischief and of vice,—which might, or might not, be kindled by the action of the will. The Lutherans, on the contrary, contended for a corruption or deterioration, in one sense *total*,—inasmuch as it extends to the whole nature of

man. They left, however, undefined, the precise *degree of intensity* in which his nature is affected by that depravation ; but, assuredly, they did not hold it to be such as to obliterate our moral faculties, or to render a miracle of Divine grace necessary for our restoration even to the privileges and capacities of responsible agency. The scholastic divinity taught that the moral powers of man might be so *meritoriously* exerted as to win for him, by what they called *congruity*, the aids of the Holy Spirit, and that, by this assistance, he might rise to the *dignity* of deserving the rewards of Heaven. The reformers maintained, in opposition to this pernicious theory, that, from first to last, the merits of his Redeemer form the only resources of a Christian's hope. The predestination of the scholastics was, the everlasting purpose of God to confer grace and glory on such *individuals* as shall deserve the first by *congruity*, and the latter by *condignity*. As viewed by the Lutherans, the decree of the Almighty was, to elect, or call,—not out of particular communities, but generally *out of the human race*,—an aggregate body or Church, the members of which were to be indebted for their acceptance with him, not to their own personal qualities or doings, but to his free and undeserved mercy. But it was, farther, their persuasion that, without the due exertion of those moral faculties which the fall has left us, it will be impossible for us to make this calling and election sure. The contrast cannot be pursued farther without plunging into a theological discussion which would be foreign to the purpose of the present work. The subject must, therefore, be dismissed with this one remark :—if any person could but sit down to the perusal of our Articles in utter forgetfulness that Europe had ever been seriously agitated by the Calvinistic dispute, and with nothing in his mind but the controversy between reformed Churches and the Church of Rome, he would then clearly perceive that those Articles were constructed, for the most part, on the Lutheran system, and principally as a rampart against the almost unchristian theology of the schools. On the other hand, he would find that the fortress was made ample enough to include within its pale a large variety of *Protestant* opinion relative to the secret and mysterious counsels of the Most High.

The days of King Edward were short, and with his death sat the sun of Cranmer's prosperity. With the accession of Mary to the throne arose that bloody banner which proclaimed to the Protestants that they were about to be "tried by fire and sword," and that the land must be *purged by blood*. Very soon after this calamitous event, Cranmer was seized by order of this bloody queen, and committed to the tower of London. Of the vexatious disputes, delays, the many base intrigues which were carried on against him, as well as the fatal catastrophe which brought him to the stake,—every reader of general history, and more especially of the history of the reformation, is perfectly acquainted. While some fled from their country to avoid the fury of the storm which they now plainly saw gathering in black and dense clouds around them, and were advised so to do by the archbishop himself, he took a more lofty stand for himself, considering it as in-



compatible with his duty as a Christian bishop, and unworthy of his dignity as primate of all England, to flee from the fury of his enemies. He therefore prepared himself to meet the coming crisis with becoming firmness; and that he might be disentangled as much as possible from all worldly concern, he set himself to the cancelling of all his debts, which, having accomplished, he exclaimed, *Thank God, I am now my own man; I can now, with God's help, answer all the world, and face all adversities that be laid upon me.*

The account of Cranmer's disputation, after his confinement in prison, is so curious in itself and such an exemplification of the spirit of the times, as well as the absurdities by which the Church of Rome was distinguished and disgraced, that we give it in the words of the narrator:—

‘The same parliament which restored the queen, attainted Cranmer of high treason. As a necessary consequence, he was divested of the temporalities of the archbishopric, which were immediately placed under sequestration. He appears to have been severely disquieted by the thought of being branded as a traitor; and he lost no time in addressing to the queen the petition for pardon which has been cited above, and which contains the explanation of his conduct in sanctioning the late king's design for changing the succession. He dreaded the ignominy of suffering as a malefactor; but always professed himself ready to meet with cheerfulness whatever afflictions he might be called upon to endure in the cause of God. His conviction for treason took place in November; and, at that time, he probably expected that his execution would speedily follow the sentence; for it has been ascertained that, shortly after the attainder, he was publicly led through London, unshaken, and even cheerful, amid the general grief of the spectators, urgently imploring that there might be no tumults, and declaring that he expected to suffer in the course of eight days. At this period, therefore, it is evident that he entertained no doubt whatever of being allowed to expire at the stake, for his faithfulness to his God, instead of perishing on the scaffold for disloyalty to his sovereign. It might have been well for his peace had he fallen, as he then expected, by the hand of the executioner: for nothing could well be more deplorable than the whole prospect around him, turn in what direction he might. The chief management of the realm consigned to Gardiner—the faithful Protestants driven into exile, or pining in dungeons—the foreigners, who had been allowed in the reign of Edward to form congregations in England, now compelled to remove, and to carry with them the arts and the industry by which they might have enriched the nation—the married clergy cruelly divorced or deprived—a packed and obsequious convocation, and a parliament also at the devotion of the crown—and what, perhaps, was more bitter than all, the professors of the Gospel beginning to fall away in the season of persecution, and to defile their conscience by falling down before the consecrated wafer: these were the visions of sorrow and dismay which now presented themselves to the view of the archbishop. On every side he beheld the structure which had cost him so many years

of anxiety and toil crumbling away before his eyes as if it had been a fabric of clay. But even in these depths of dejection, he was not left wholly destitute of comfort. When the prisons began to be crowded by the defeat of Wyatt's insurrection, three other distinguished martyrs were thrust into the same chamber with him. Their employment in captivity was afterward described by Latimer to the commissioners at Oxford; and nothing could better become the situation of men who were lying in peril of their lives for the testimony of the truth: "Mr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury," said he, "Mr. Ridley, bishop of London, that holy man Mr. Bradford, and I, old Hugh Latimer, were imprisoned in the tower of London for Christ's Gospel-preaching, and because we would not go *a massing*. The same tower being so full of prisoners, we four were thrust into one chamber, as men not to be accounted of. But, God be thanked, to our great joy and comfort, there did we together read over the New Testament with great deliberation and painful study: and I assure you, as I will answer before the tribunal of God's majesty, we did find, in the Testament, of God's body and blood no other but a spiritual presence, nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But in that heavenly book it appeared that the sacrifice which Christ Jesus our Redeemer did upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good,—that God the heavenly Father requireth none other,—nor *that* ever again to be done."

'In the course of a few months these consolatory occupations were broken off. The three confessors were dragged out of their cell, not indeed to death, but to the intermediate martyrdom of a public disputation. The convocation had assembled at the same time with the parliament, at the summons of Bonner, who was now restored to the see of London, and exercised the functions of the imprisoned metropolitan. The composition of this assembly was so entirely conformable to the views of the government, that there were not more than six of their number who had the inclination or the courage to stand up for the reformation of King Edward. They proceeded, therefore, with all imaginable alacrity in the work of demolition. The labors of Cranmer fell rapidly before them. The Liturgy and the Articles were speedily disposed of: and their next care was to restore the doctrine of the Eucharist to its former honors. A disputation was accordingly held in the Lower House; and, at the especial desire of the queen, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was chosen for the subject. A more unexceptionable mode of proceeding could hardly have been adopted, if the contest had been conducted with any semblance of fairness and decorum. But the spirit which presided may be imagined from the language of Weston, the prolocutor. "*We have the Word*," said the reforming disputants, appealing, as usual, to the Scriptures:—"But *we have the sword*," was the reply of the insolent and shameless moderator. The outcry against the manifest iniquity of these proceedings seems to have awakened the Romanists to some sense of decency: for it was resolved that the controversy should be renewed at Oxford under the management of a committee selected from both universities; and it was farther determined that Cranmer and his two fellow prisoners, who had been excluded from the former conflict, should now be summoned to a share in this. In pursuance of this resolution, they were removed from the tower to the prison of

Bocardo, at Oxford, in the month of March : and in the April following the strife of words was to begin.

‘It would seem as if the dominant party regarded the approaching argument as a crisis of no ordinary importance, if we may judge by the pageantry with which it was ushered in. On Saturday, the 14th of April, the representatives of the Lower House of Convocation, with the Prolocutor Weston at their head, and attended by the delegates of either university, advanced in procession to St. Mary’s, and seated themselves in the choir, in front of the high altar. When their solemn devotions and the formal preliminaries of their business were despatched, they sent orders to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, to bring Dr. Cranmer before them. The archbishop soon appeared, guarded by a body of bill-men. He stood with his staff in his hand, with a grave and reverential aspect ; and in that posture he remained, having declined a seat, which they had the courtesy to offer him. The prolocutor opened the proceedings with a harangue, in which he observed how commendable a thing was unity in the Church of Christ ; and then, turning to the archbishop, lamented that he, who once had been a Catholic man, should have made an unseemly breach in the unity of the Church, not merely by setting forth erroneous doctrine, but by teaching a new faith every year. It was, however, her majesty’s earnest desire that he should, if possible, be recovered from his schismatical separation ; and she had, accordingly, been pleased to charge them with the office of reclaiming him. He then produced the three articles which had been agreed upon as the main points for discussion ; the first of which affirmed the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar ; the second declared the transubstantiation of the consecrated elements ; the third maintained the life-giving and propitiatory virtue of the mass. The archbishop, being desired to pronounce his opinion on these propositions, replied that nothing could exceed his value for unity, as the preserver of all human commonwealths ; the advantages of which he illustrated by various instances from ancient story ; and he added that he would most cordially embrace it,—provided always that it were a unity *in Christ*, and conformable to the word of God. He then deliberately read the articles over, three or four times ; and being asked whether he would subscribe them, he said that, as they were there worded, they were all false, and at variance with Scripture ; and that consequently he must decline all *unity* of which these propositions were the basis. He offered, nevertheless, that he would prepare his answer in writing by the next day, if he might be allowed a copy of the articles. The prolocutor assented ; but told him that his answer must be in readiness that very night, and that he would be called upon to maintain the points of his dissent by scholastic argument in Latin, in the public schools. He was then consigned again to the custody of the mayor, and conducted back to his confinement at Bocardo, which was no better than a filthy prison for the reception of ordinary criminals. His demeanor on this day was throughout so distinguished by venerable gravity and modest self-possession, that several of the academics, who disapproved his opinions, were moved by it even to tears.

The next day, Sunday the 15th of April, a grand and solemn banquet was held by the commissioners at Magdalen College, after the



sermon at St. Mary's, which was delivered by Harpsfield, chaplain to the bishop of London. In the course of the evening the written answer of Cranmer was sent in to the prolocutor, who was entertained at Lincoln college. In this paper he professed that he could acknowledge no such thing as a natural body of Christ, which should be merely spiritual,—the object of intellect and not of sense,—and not distinguishable into parts or members. He contended, with the ancient doctors, that the bread and wine were called the body and blood of Christ, by a mode of speech that was purely figurative; and that the guests at the holy table of Christ are there reminded that his crucifixion supplies a nutriment as needful for our souls, as material sustenance is needful for our bodies. He, lastly, maintained that the oblation of Christ upon the cross was of supreme and final efficacy; and that to seek for any other sacrifice for sin would be to make the great propitiation of none effect.

On Monday, the 16th of April, at about 8 o'clock, the commissioners proceeded, with the usual pomp and formality, to the divinity schools: and Cranmer was brought forward to undergo the *baiting* of a public dispute. He was immediately conducted to the respondent's desk, and near him were seated the mayor and aldermen of Oxford. The business was opened by the prolocutor in a speech which commenced with the following sentence: "Brethren, we are this day met together to confound that detestable heresy of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament." This exordium was so ludicrously equivocal, that it was received with a universal burst of laughter. As soon as the indecorous merriment had subsided the prolocutor continued his harangue, the main object of which was to show that to oppose the doctrine of transubstantiation was neither more nor less than to deny the power and truth of God. Upon this the archbishop remarked, that they were met for the discussion of certain *controverted* matters, which yet, they were told, it was unlawful and even impious to dispute: and "if this be so," he added, "surely mine answer is expected in vain." The contest respecting the *indisputable* points nevertheless commenced. "Your opinion, reverend master doctor," said Chedsey, who was to begin the debate, "is different from the Scripture, therefore you are deceived." To this specimen of logical audacity, Cranmer replied, of course, by denying the former proposition. The opponent then contended, that the word "body" was to be taken in its literal acceptation; and that it had always been so taken by the Church. Cranmer, on the contrary, insisted that the language was wholly metaphorical, and that the Church had so understood it from the beginning; and this proposition he offered to maintain by arguments which he had prepared in writing, and which he now desired might be read aloud. The request was, apparently, acceded to by Dr. Weston; but notwithstanding this, the paper was never read. It would be impossible to detail the remainder of the controversy, without filling a great portion of our volume. The whole was, in truth, a scene of wearisome and most disorderly wrangling. It lasted from eight in the morning till nearly two in the afternoon. The argument was carried on sometimes in English, and sometimes in Latin. The prelate was compelled to stand alone against a multitude of antagonists. He was perpetually assailed with unmannerly interruption. The prolocutor

disgraced himself by heaping epithets of disparagement upon the archbishop; and his offensive vehemence was a signal for turbulence and clamor to the miscellaneous auditory: so that the schools resounded at intervals with hissing, and hooting, and peals of laughter, and other symptoms of vulgarity and rudeness: and the assembly was at length dismissed by the exemplary moderator, with an invitation to the crowd to express their sense of triumph by shouts of "*Vicit veritas.*"

'Such were the courtesies which dignified an important and solemn theological argument, in the sixteenth century, and in the most renowned university of Europe! The process by which the late primate of England was to be stamped as a heretic was such as, at the present day, would almost disgrace the hustings, at a period of the most tumultuous political excitement. The uproar which on this occasion was suffered to dishonor an assembly of scholars and divines, and to heap oppression and insult on the first ecclesiastic in the realm, may partly be ascribed to the semi-barbarous condition of society; and it might perhaps be too much to affirm that nothing of a similar description had ever occurred when Roman Catholics, instead of Protestants, had been placed on their defence. But it may, I presume, be very confidently asserted, that never before were the decencies of public discussion so infamously violated as on this trial of Cranmer and his two associates. The very persons themselves who had been guilty of these outrages on equity and common humanity, appear to have been stricken with a sense of shame: for on Thursday, the 19th of April, Cranmer was produced in the schools once more, in the character of an opponent to Harpsfield, who was then to perform his exercises for the degree of doctor of divinity. The contest on this day seems to have been carried on with a much more creditable show of order and propriety. The first part of the dispute related merely to the authority of the Church, as a guide to the safe interpretation of Scripture; but the parties soon found themselves again on the old debateable ground of the corporeal presence: and then there followed a long course of bickering, after the scholastic manner, in which the most awful topics were bandied to and fro, in language which (to say nothing of its monstrous absurdity) has, to our ears, a sound of gross irreverence, if not of positive impiety. It was debated, for instance, whether the body of our blessed Saviour was present in the sacrament in such a manner that he could be *eaten*; whether he was there *substantially*, or only *as touching his substance*, but *not after the manner of his substance*; whether his body could have *quantity* in heaven, while it was present *without quantity* on earth; whether *quantity* could be predicated of it at all, or whether it were not rather *quantitative*, or existing, not actually *in quantity*, but *after the manner of quantity*; whether Christ were swallowed, in the sacrament, by wicked men, and if so, how long he remained in the eater! At the present day, it must appear beyond measure astonishing that grave and learned men could endure to desecrate the most solemn mysteries of our faith with all this worthless metaphysical jargon. It must be remembered, however, that Cranmer in resorting to it, acted purely on the defensive; for though he was on this occasion personally the opponent, his cause was throughout the object of aggression; and it

was absolutely essential to the honor of that cause that he should show himself a complete master of the weapons with which the warfare against it was usually carried on. His consummate accomplishment in the scholastic learning enabled him to acquit himself with a steadiness and serenity which extorted praise even from Weston himself, who before had appeared well nigh destitute of all aptitude for the common civilities of creditable society. "Your wonderful gentle behavior, good master Doctor Cranmer," said the prolocutor, "is worthy of much commendation; and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks, both in my own name and in the name of all my brethren." And thereupon all the doctors present courteously put off their caps: and with this outward show of respect, the archbishop was dismissed back to his prison.'

The vacillating conduct of Cranmer toward the close of his eventful life, has afforded matter for animadversion for both friends and enemies—the former lamenting that such weaknesses should have been manifested in this trying hour by a man who had all along shown such invincible firmness in the cause of truth—and the latter triumphing in their victory over a fallen foe, as though his aberration could contribute any thing to mitigate the unjust severity with which they disgraced their conduct and exulted in their iniquity. We allow, indeed, that it is somewhat difficult to reconcile some features of Cranmer's conduct with the fidelity of a Christian or the uprightness of a man of God, or even to palliate it in consistency with that spirit of toleration by which Christianity is distinguished. From the facts which the narrative of his life discloses, it would seem that, though he was evidently actuated by a strong attachment to the truth as it is in Jesus, he was sometimes too pliant in yielding his judgment to others, and especially to royal authority. But whatever defects of character he may have exhibited at times, we may find an apology for them in the spirit of the age in which he lived, in the peculiar difficulties with which he had to contend, and the gross darkness which had so long covered the world. The principles of civil and religious liberty were but imperfectly understood. Uniformity in religious matters was considered essential to religious prosperity; and the power of the civil magistrate was considered necessary for the support of the Church; and such was the state of the ecclesiastical world that the pope of Rome exercised almost unlimited control over temporal as well as spiritual matters; kings and emperors trembled at his nod, and all the earth seemed obedient to his bidding. Under these circumstances Cranmer persuaded himself that there was no other way to succeed in the work of reformation but to conciliate the good will of the reigning powers; and hence the pliant manner in which he yielded to the wishes of Henry VIII., and afterward the submissive tone he used



to Mary and her counsellors, and finally his censurable conduct in inflicting pains and penalties upon those denominated heretics in religion. Those of us who live in this age of civil freedom and religious light, can hardly appreciate the difficulties with which our forefathers had to contend, surrounded as they were on all hands with all sorts of enemies, and beset with thorns and briers by which they were goaded on to do things which they would not have done under other circumstances.

But with whatever defects Cranmer may have afflicted his friends from the hope of prolonging his life—a hope kindled up by the treacherous conduct of those who had already determined on his death whether he adhered to Protestantism or not—when the trying hour came, he fully redeemed himself from all obloquy of this sort, and manifested an unshaken confidence in the truth of his principles, and in the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. This is evident from the following account of his last hours, with which we close our extracts :—

‘The facility afforded him for this public confession was, accidentally, beyond his hopes. Between nine and ten o’clock on the 21st of March, the Lord Williams, with others of the neighboring gentry, arrived in Oxford, for the purpose of presiding at the sacrifice of the reclaimed arch heretic. The morning, however, happened to be so rainy, that instead of conducting him at once to the stake, they brought him to St. Mary’s Church, in the full expectation that he would there complete the triumph of the Romanists, by proclaiming, with his dying breath, his adhesion to their communion. On his way thither he was placed between two friars, whose office it was to murmur out certain psalms, which, it was conceived, were appropriate to his mournful situation. On his entrance into the church, the *Nunc Dimittis* was chanted; and the archbishop was then led forward to a scaffolding or platform, raised in front of the pulpit. When he had ascended it he knelt down to pray; and wept so bitterly, that many of the spectators were also moved to tears; more especially those among them “who had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance.”

Dr. Cole then commenced his sermon; in which he stated that Dr. Cranmer had been the prime agent in all the pernicious changes by which the realm had been for so many years distracted. He had usurped the office of pronouncing the divorce between Henry VIII, and Queen Catherine; and though he might have been impelled rather by the persuasions of other men, than by any malicious motive, yet he had thus become the chief author of all the confusion that had followed. He had, moreover, not only been the notorious patron of all the heresies which had burst into the kingdom, but had persisted in maintaining them, both by disputation and by writing: and so long a perseverance in error had never, but in time of schism, been pardoned by the Church. The preacher also stated, that in addition to these causes of Cranmer’s execution, the queen and her council were moved by certain other reasons, which it would not be fit or convenient to disclose.

‘ Having next exhorted the bystanders to profit by the melancholy example before them, Dr. Cole addressed his discourse to Cranmer himself. He reminded the prisoner of the mercy of God, who will not suffer us to be tempted beyond what we are able to bear ; expressed a good hope that he would, like the penitent thief, be that day with Christ in paradise ; encouraged him to meditate on the deliverance of the three children, to whom God made the flame seem like a pleasant dew, on the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross, and the patience of St. Laurence on the fire ; and assured him that if in his extremity he should call on God, and on such as have died in his faith, he would either abate the fury of the flame, or else would give the sufferer strength to endure it. He gloried in the final conversion of Cranmer to the truth, which could only be regarded as the work of God : and concluded with many expressions of commendation, and with a promise that masses should be sung for his soul in every Church in Oxford.

‘ Having finished his sermon, the preacher desired that all who were present would offer up their supplications for the prisoner. On this Cranmer himself immediately knelt down in secret prayer. His example was followed by the rest of the congregation. They all of them prayed together, as by one consent. Those among them who once hated him as an incorrigible heretic, were now melted by the spectacle of his repentance ; while others who had loved him before, were yet unable suddenly to hate him, and fondly clung to the hope that after all he would return to his former profession, and make a public acknowledgment of his fall. This general feeling of compassion had been powerfully heightened by the appearance of the archbishop during the sermon. He had stood before the people the very image of sorrow ; his face bathed in tears, his eyes sometimes raised to heaven in hope, sometimes cast down to the earth for shame, but still preserving throughout a venerable aspect and quiet solemnity of demeanor.

‘ When his silent devotions were concluded, Cranmer rose from his knees, and turning toward the people, heartily thanked them for their prayers. He then said, “ I will now pray for myself, as I could best devise for my own comfort, and say the prayer, word for word, as I have here written it ; ” and remaining still on his feet, he recited from his manuscript the following supplication :—

“ O Father of heaven : O Son of God, Redeemer of the world ; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner ! I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or whither should I fly for succor ? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes ; and in earth I find no refuge. What shall I then do ? Shall I despair ? God forbid. O good God ! Thou art merciful, and refusest none that come unto thee for succor. To thee therefore do I run. To thee do I humble myself : saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences. Nor thou didst not give thy Son unto death, O God the Father, for our little and small sins

only, but for all the greatest sins of the world ; so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart ; as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy, For although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby : and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake."

‘Having finished this act of devotion he knelt down, and repeated the Lord's prayer, all the congregation on their knees devoutly joining him. Then, rising on his feet once more, he addressed a solemn exhortation to the people, in which he warned them that *the love of this world is hatred against God*; enjoining them to remain in willing and cheerful obedience to the king and queen ; besought them to live together like brethren and sisters ; and, lastly, entreated the wealthy to lay up in their hearts the saying of our Lord, "It is hard for a rich man to enter into heaven ;" and also the words of St. John, "Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him ?" He then continued his address to the people, in the following memorable words :—

“And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven, in joy, or else to be in pain ever with wicked devils in hell ; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up ; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without color or dissimulation. For now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past.

“First. I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, &c, and every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles, and prophets, in the Old and New Testament.

“And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life : and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce, and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be : and that is, all such bills, which I have written or signed with mine own hand, since my degradation ; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished. For if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine."

‘The amazement and confusion of the assembly at the utterance of this speech, may very easily be imagined. All his judges, and doubtless a very large portion of the audience, expected nothing from his lips but an open and penitent abjuration of his Protestant opinions. Instead of this, he proclaimed that he had nothing to repent of but his unworthy professions of the Romish faith. It was to no purpose that Lord Williams vehemently reminded him of his submission and dissembling, and exhorted him to remember himself, and play the Chris-



tian man. The archbishop remained unshaken. "Alas! my lord," was his reply, "I have been a man that, all my life, loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for; and I cannot better play the Christian man than by speaking the truth as I now do." He farther protested that, with regard to the doctrine of the sacrament, he still believed precisely as he had written in his book against the bishop of Winchester.

By this time the exasperation of the Romanists had become outrageous. The assembly broke up, and the archbishop was hurried to the place of execution. On his way thither, one of the friars, foaming with rage and disappointment, assailed him with reproaches for his inconstancy, and bade him remember his recantation; repeatedly crying out, "Was it not thy own doing?" On his arrival at the stake, he put off his garments with alacrity, and even with haste, and stood upright in his shirt. When his caps were taken off, his head appeared so bare that not a single hair could be discerned upon it. His beard, however, was long and thick, and his countenance altogether of such reverend gravity, that neither friend nor foe could look upon it without emotion. While the preparations for his death were completing, a bachelor of divinity, accompanied by two Spanish friars, made one desperate effort to recall him to his apostasy. But their attempts were utterly fruitless. The archbishop was only moved to repeat that he sorely repented of his recantation, because he knew it was contrary to the truth. On this the friars said, in Latin, to each other, "Let us leave him to himself; the devil is surely with him, and we ought no longer to be near him." Lord Williams became impatient of farther delay, and ordered the proceedings to be *cut short*. Cranmer, therefore, took his surrounding friends by the hand, and bade them his last farewell; while his defeated monitor, the bachelor, indignantly rebuked them for touching the heretic, and protested that he was bitterly sorry for having come into his company. He could not forbear, however, once more, to urge his adherence to his recantation. The answer of Cranmer was, "This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it shall first suffer punishment."

The fire was now speedily kindled; and Cranmer immediately made good his words, by thrusting his right hand into the flame. He held it there with unflinching steadiness, exclaiming from time to time,— "This hand hath offended,—this unworthy hand!" So immovable was his fortitude, that the spectators could plainly perceive the fire consuming his hand, before it had materially injured any other part of his frame. At last the pile became completely lighted, and then the fire soon did its work upon him. To the very last, his resolution continued firm. When the flames mounted, so that he was almost enveloped by them, he appeared to move no more than the stake to which he was bound. His eyes, all the while, were steadfastly raised toward heaven; and, so long as the power of utterance remained, his swollen tongue was repeatedly heard to exclaim, "This unworthy hand!— Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

That Cranmer's "patience in the torment, and courage in dying," were worthy of the noblest cause, is amply and generously attested by the Roman Catholic spectator, who has left us an account of his last sufferings. "If," says the writer of that narrative, "it had been either

for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of the truth,—as it was for a pernicious error, and subversion of true religion,—I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time.” There is a sort of traditional story that, after he was burned, his heart was found unconsumed in the midst of the ashes. The tale is scarcely worth repeating. It is, indeed, just possible, that when the flames had nearly consumed the parts more immediately exposed to their action, the heart may have been separated from the body; and may have accidentally fallen upon a spot where the fire was less fierce; and there it may have been found comparatively uninjured, or, at least, in a state which might enable a spectator to distinguish it. And this may have given birth to a report which credulity or superstition might exalt into a miracle.

Thus perished Archbishop Cranmer;—a man to whom the obligations of this country must ever be “broad and deep:” for to his conscientious labors, and incomparable prudence and moderation, we are, under Providence, mainly indebted for the present fabric of our Protestant Church. The brightness of his last hour was preceded, it is true, by an awful interval of darkness. The shadows, however, most happily passed away from him; and his name resumed its lustre in the midst of the fires of his martyrdom. The revival of his courage was the bitterest of all imaginable disappointments to the Romish party. The final prostration of his integrity would, to them, have been a great and inestimable spoil. So blind was the impatience of the Church of Rome for the ruin of his fame, that it drove her to a prodigal application of her customary craft, such as must have tended only to the defeat of her purpose. She trod upon the victim whom she had allured into her toils, till his heart must have revolted against her perfidious cruelty. She thus, in effect, labored unconsciously to rekindle the slumbering fires of his faith and virtue, and to defraud herself of the satisfaction of utterly murdering his reputation before she consigned his body to torture and to death. Whether she might, at the last, have spared his life, and yet have been, eventually, gratified with his blood, is, indeed, a question which none can certainly determine, except Him who searcheth the heart. But yet, if he is to be *judged of man’s judgment*, it seems impossible to believe that he could long have endured the miseries of a dishonored and despised old age. It appears that, all along, he was smitten with remorse and horror for yielding to the recoil of flesh and blood. He protested, just before his death, that “he had oft repented of his recantation;” and the truth of this saying is irresistibly established by his whole demeanor in his last agony, as represented to us by his honest and candid “Roman Catholic reporter.” And when we look at his self possession and alacrity at the stake, and recollect at the same time his constitutional defect of firmness,—nothing can well be thought of more surprising than the heroism of his last hour. It has, indeed, been sometimes alleged that he derived courage to retract, *only* from despair of pardon. But his despair of pardon never can have inspired him with invincible fortitude, while the flames were devouring his flesh. His courage in the midst of sufferings, (which might well extort groans, even from men made of more stubborn stuff than Cranmer,) can never have been the effect of hypocrisy and dissimulation. It is impossible that he could be

merely playing a part, when he held his hand immovably in the fire that was scorching every nerve and sinew, and accused that hand as the guilty instrument of his disgrace. We have here, at least, a substantial proof that, at that moment, all anguish was light, compared with the agony of his deep, but not despairing repentance. And justice demands of us, farther, to keep in mind that the language in which his penitence was proclaimed, relates wholly to his recent course of dissimulation. With regard to every other act of his life, he expresses himself, throughout his persecution, like one who had exercised himself to have a conscience void of offence toward God and man.

‘In a word, then, we have seen Archbishop Cranmer in his last moments, surrounded as it were by the ruins of his own good fame; and yet, in the midst of that piteous wreck, enabled to resume his courage, and to rise, like the apostle who denied his Lord, from the depths of human frailty, to the honors of Christian martyrdom. It is scarcely to be credited that a man like this could have borne to live “infamous and contented,” if the Church of Rome had allowed him to survive. Had his life been granted him, he must soon have loathed a gift which would only have reserved him for sufferings worse than the bitterness of death. He might then, possibly, have sunk under the silent, though inglorious martyrdom, of a wounded spirit: but, more probably, he would have been enabled to *renew his strength* to seek a refuge from his anguish by rushing a voluntary martyr into the flames.’

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For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

AN ADDRESS,

*Delivered before the Literary Society of the Oneida Conference,  
September 28, 1834.*

BY THE REV. GEORGE PECK.

INTELLIGENCE and literature are at all times and in all places essential qualifications for a minister of the Gospel. But these qualifications are especially necessary in an age when the arts and sciences are cultivated with the greatest avidity, and in a country where they are the national birthright of all classes of the community. The improvements which have been made in the systems of education, and the multiplication of facilities for the attainment of knowledge, within these few years past, have greatly improved the literature of the country, and considerably elevated the literary character of all classes of the community. And it requires no extraordinary penetration to see that the Christian ministry must make corresponding advances or fall behind the times, and consequently go into disrepute, and so expose the cause of Christianity to contempt. An unlettered ministry at this age of the Church must be considered as fairly out of the question. The present is emphatically an age of inquiry. And it is an age in which skepticism and infidelity are disseminated and openly avowed. The enemies of truth abate not a whit of their zeal and malignity. They are incessant in their attacks upon the foundations of our faith. They assume a variety of false colors and deceptive garbs. Stale and antiquated objections to fundamental truths



are diligently sought out and revived, and men's brains are put to the rack to find out new ones. Old heresies are daily dug out of the rubbish of antiquity, and novel ones are coined, and both are disseminated with more than apostolic ardor; and our own people are daily becoming more inquisitive and intelligent. How our ministry is to be qualified for the emergencies growing out of all these facts, is a question of the deepest interest, both to our Church and to the community. The present is not the age of miracles. We are not now authorized to expect that 'it shall be given to us in the self same hour what we ought to speak.' The object is now placed within the grasp of the ordinary means; and when this is the case, God does not ordinarily put forth his miraculous powers, but we are required to make use of the appointed means, and then look to Him who gives the *increase* for His blessing.

Even in the apostolic age, when plenary inspiration was shed down upon the ministers of the sanctuary, there is abundant evidence that they did not neglect the cultivation of their minds. The holy apostles not only enjoyed the opportunity of receiving instructions from Christ himself, during his life and ministry, when Divine truth was unfolded to their minds as they were able to bear it, but the college of apostles remained together at Jerusalem for several years after the ascension, before they separated and went to their several departments of labor. And this, it is highly probable, was, that they might have the better opportunity for mutual improvement, as well as to unite their wisdom and experience in preparing for the work those who were to be their helpers and successors. St. Paul himself, with all his moral, theological, and literary endowments, did not enter upon the duties of his high and holy vocation, until he had first spent some time in retirement and study. For immediately upon his conversion, he went into Arabia, where he remained two years; and there is no evidence that during that time he preached publicly at all. Indeed had he given himself to the ministry of the word during this time, it would probably have been noticed by St. Luke, in his history of the Acts of the Apostles: but he passes over the apostle's residence in Arabia in entire silence, and the fact had never come down to us, but that St. Paul mentions it himself. Here we may suppose the apostle spent his time with some Christian family, in the study of the Jewish Scriptures and the targums of the Jewish doctors, and comparing them with the great facts alleged in the Gospel, and it was by this means, at least in part, that he became so thoroughly qualified to 'reason out of the Scriptures,' and 'mightily to convince' his Jewish antagonists. And in perfect keeping with his own practice was his advice to Timothy: "Give thyself to reading. Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." And if mental culture was necessary in apostolic times, in the days of inspiration; can it be any less necessary now? The enemies of truth are now, if possible, more numerous and subtle than they then were. We live in an improved age of the world, and an improved state of society, and cannot call inspiration and miracles to our aid. And can it be possible that there is now no longer any necessity for a high state of mental improvement in the ministry? That the interests of truth and religion may now safely be entrusted to

men who have neither heads nor hearts to study? None of you, my brethren, will hesitate a moment in giving your negative to these interrogations?

The present state of religious opinions furnishes a consideration upon this subject of immense weight. While some other branches of the visible Church are perplexing themselves with endless speculations, and have almost lost themselves in the fog of metaphysical refinements; how does it become our ministry to possess the intelligence clearly to discern the ancient landmarks of our system, and to have logic and critical skill to defend them when assailed. There is, withal, amidst this wonderful confusion, 'the rush of mind.' Master spirits are engaged; mental resources are developed; and a machinery is at work which bids fair to change entirely the grounds of controversy between them and us, and threatens to bewilder, if not indeed to destroy the unwary upon both sides. The only check which can be opposed to this overwhelming deluge I conceive to be a clear and forcible development of the great doctrines of the Bible, unsophisticated and undisguised. And how are we to act our part in this great work, without an able and truly learned ministry? But I do not intend to prosecute an extended argument upon the importance of a thorough education upon the part of our ministry: this I must for the present take for granted. But thus much I have judged necessary by way of introduction to my main design, which is, to develop some of the principal causes of the sad deficiencies in the literature of the Methodist ministry, and by the way to make some suggestions as to the remedy for the evil.

In order to show what constitutes a capital deficiency in the literary qualifications of a minister, it might appear necessary to show what is absolutely essential to it. But the ground I take will not require this. I set up no infallible standard of literary qualifications, which must be a *sine qua non* for admission into the annual conference. Nor by a *deficiency of literature* must I be understood to mean *incompetency*, in the sense in which this term is used in the common parlance of the day. But I mean simply that, as a body of ministers, *we have less literature than is at the present day highly necessary to give us that commanding influence over the community, which will render us adequate to the emergencies of the times in which we live.* To this proposition I think all will concede; and I doubt not but all will unite most heartily in the inquiry after the causes and the remedy.

I. The first of these causes which I shall notice is the want of many of the means of ministerial education.

In order to the proper cultivation of the mind in any department of knowledge, it must have *proper stimulants, timely aid, and suitable direction.* These objects are effected by *education.* Until subjects of interest are presented to the mind, it will remain dormant, or will rather roam at large, occupying itself in pernicious or useless vagaries. And though it may in its wanderings glance at some useful subjects, it will never so comprehend them as to make any substantial improvement. When stimulated to action by the presentation of important and interesting subjects of contemplation, it soon meets with numerous obstacles, which have the effect either to suppress, or greatly to retard investigation. Then it is that *effective aid* is indispensable.—

But remove these obstacles, and the faculties of the mind acquire fresh vigor, and it prosecutes its researches with a new and increasing vigor. But without timely and proper *direction* the mind is ever running astray: and by how much its energies are awakened, and called into action, without a suitable guide, by so much it is exposed to take some fatal course. And hence arises the necessity of education: for without it the mind, as to any useful purposes, remains inactive, or in its undisciplined efforts is ever driving upon some fatal experiment.

General education lays the foundation for the cultivation of the several branches of science and literature. And hence a defective knowledge in any department of literature may originate in a defective general education. Here, then, we are undoubtedly to look for some of the causes of the deficiency in ministerial education. We shall find, upon due inquiry, that the difficulty commences with the very rudiments of knowledge. The teachers employed, the books and systems of instruction used in our early years, were most wofully defective. And hence the false notions which we imbibed in childhood from these sources have crippled our efforts in after life, and some of their evil effects we may carry to our graves. But some of us have labored under still other embarrassments, growing out of our circumstances in life, location, habits of thinking, &c, which however I need not here detail.

But as to the means of education in the *higher branches*, there is still greater cause of complaint. Until these few years past, the Methodist Church has exerted next to no influence over the high schools and colleges in the country, and has had none under its immediate patronage. Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury made a laudable effort to raise the standard of literature among the Methodists, by erecting Cokesbury college. This institution was opened on the 8th of December, 1787, with twenty-five students. But it had scarcely begun to shed its genial rays upon our infant community, before, by a mysterious Providence, its light was extinguished. It was destroyed by fire, December 4, 1795, about eight years after it was opened, and about ten after laying the foundation of the edifice. A long and gloomy night succeeded the catastrophe of this rising institution; during which no effectual provision was made for the literary improvement of our Church. Our fathers were so constantly occupied in meeting the numerous and pressing calls for labor, which came up from every quarter of our widely extended country; and in thrusting themselves into the thousand doors which were opening for the preaching of the word and the conversion of souls; and some of them, too hastily concluding that the destruction of Cokesbury college was an indication of Providence that the Methodists did not need, and ought not to have, literary institutions, that no similar effort was made, no college or seminary erected, or brought under the special patronage of any annual conference for more than twenty years!

The consequence was such as would be naturally expected. The literature of the Methodist Episcopal Church, struggling under such disadvantages, remained low. Most of our people who had the means of giving their sons a liberal education, were averse from putting them under the influence and instructions of such men as branded Methodism as a novel heresy, and might think it a good work to



alienate them from it. Consequently, few who became Methodist preachers ever had it in their power to take a regular course in the higher branches of education: not to say that many of us, from the necessities of honest poverty, (which I suppose ought not to be reckoned to us a sin,) never had the means to find our way into a college, or even an academy or high school, had we been ever so much disposed, or had there been institutions of these classes ever so much to our liking.

But, thanks to a gracious Providence, a brighter day now dawns upon our Church. Erecting colleges and seminaries, under the special patronage of the annual conferences, has become the order of the day. These have had the effect to raise the standard of literature among our people generally; and whatever does this will, of course, exert a vast influence upon the literary character of our ministry. There is the clearest evidence of the truth of these remarks in all those conferences where these institutions are located. And in our own conference we have the clearest evidence that in these institutions lies the principal part of our remedy.

But still there seems to be upon the present system a want of adaptedness in them to several important points in the case, which it appears to me are perfectly within their reach. *The literature of the Bible* at present constitutes no part of the regular course pursued in these institutions. In my reflections upon this momentous subject I have been led anxiously to inquire whether an improvement could not be effected in this respect, which would not be in the least prejudicial to the interests of general science, and which would render very effective service to the cause of ministerial education. It may be objected to this suggestion, that the alteration proposed would turn our *literary institutions* into *theological seminaries*, and this would of course cross their chartered limits, and be a breach of public faith. To this I would answer, that it is not intended, in the proposition, to introduce into these institutions a *theological course*; but simply to teach *the literature of the Bible*. Using the Scriptures as a class book, as any other class book is used, i. e. teaching their languages, antiquities, geology, geography, chronology, natural history, &c. in our literary institutions, would no more turn them into theological seminaries, than teaching the Greek and Roman classics in them constitutes them mythological seminaries,—or seminaries for the purpose of educating heathen priests. Must a student necessarily become an apostle of the religion taught in his class book? Who ever supposed that all the students, in our higher seminaries of learning, were preparing themselves for teachers of the corruptions and fooleries of heathenism, merely because the Greek and Roman classics constitute a prominent part of their course? Surely this never entered the mind of any sensible person; and yet this would seem to be the natural and necessary consequence flowing from the ground assumed by the objector.

Though the sacred writings certainly have higher and holier claims upon our attention, yet their mere *literature* is of the first importance to the general scholar, whatever be the profession which he may pursue. This is most evident from the fact, that they contain authentic records of the highest antiquity; some parts of them being more ancient than any other book in existence: that they set forth a system

of theology, principles of morals, and historical facts, concerning which every man, and especially every scholar, is bound to make up an opinion. This obligation, if there were no other reason, would rest upon this fact, that the Scriptures contain and set forth the religion of the country in which we live. But how is any one to be qualified to make up a rational judgment upon the subject, without consulting the only sufficient source of information? Merely as a magazine of interesting facts and useful knowledge, the Bible is by no means second to any other book in existence, in its claims upon the attention of the student and the scholar. It is, in fact, the only authentic record, in existence, of the creation of the world, the origin of nations, and the physical, civil, and moral revolutions of ancient times; and it reflects a world of light upon primitive usages and customs, which, but for this book, would have been, long since, shrouded in impenetrable darkness. How obvious, and how lamentable is the want of information, in these matters, in some of the wisest and most philosophical of the infidel writers. How often do they blunder, and absolutely beat the air, for want of a little Hebrew and Greek, and a slight acquaintance with the antiquities, laws, customs, &c, of the Jews, and the surrounding nations, alluded to in the Bible! Whether a man be a Christian, an infidel, or a skeptic, he is bound to make use of the best means in his power to acquaint himself with the Scriptures; and this he cannot do, as a scholar, without a thorough acquaintance with their literature. And if so, how has it come to pass that the fact is so entirely lost sight of in all our systems of general education? Have we not, by common consent, conceded, in this, to popery and infidelity almost every thing they could wish? For, surely, if the Bible possesses a fund of literature, to be found no where else, unless it be regarded as too mischievous in its tendency to be committed to our children, to be studied as they would study any other class book, how is it to be accounted for, that it has not a place in our literary institutions with the Greek and Roman classics?

An eloquent Christian orator\* expresses himself upon this subject in the following forcible language:—'We have said that the Bible is the only original, pure, and inexhaustible fountain of thought, the only storehouse of the elements of universal literature, the only safe, unerring standard of taste: the richest, noblest specimen of the awful or the majestic, of the graceful or the beautiful. We have said that sacred literature sits enthroned amid the grandeur and serenity, the loveliness and purity of her own heaven of heavens, far above the idolatrous temples of Grecian and Roman genius. We have said that the exclusion of the Scriptures from all our systems of education, even in a literary point of view, is an astonishing, a melancholy fact. We gaze on the long line of the institutions of literature, through the centuries that are past, and missing their first model, the Scriptures, we feel as the Roman when he beheld not the statue of Brutus or Cassius in the funeral procession of their families, "*Prefulget, qua non cernitur.*" But, like the Roman, we mourn, as a calamity, the banishment of its noblest ornament from so noble an array of genius and learning. Let us pause, then, and inquire into the origin of this phenomenon.' The cause this gentleman traces to the times of the re-

\* Mr. Grimke, of Charleston, S. C.

formation, and gives a condensed view of the subject in the following paragraph:—

'The Old Testament was in Hebrew, a language, at the time of the reformation, scarcely known to Christians. The founder of the modern school of Hebrew learning was Reuchlin, a Catholic, but the progress was very slow, and only a few engaged in its study.\* The Hebrew, indeed, was not then, and never has been regarded, (to the disgrace of Christianity be it spoken,) as a classic, in point of language and style. Another principal reason for the exclusion of the Bible is found in the fact, that the study of its languages and history, of its evidences and antiquities, of its exegesis and connection with profane history, of its doctrines and mysteries, had always been considered peculiar to a theological course, and in no respect an appropriate part of general education: as though the Bible was not, in the language of Chillingworth, the religion of Protestants; and as though to be ignorant on these subjects were not disgraceful to any intelligent man who professes to have received a liberal education. Yet no provision has been made for it in systems of general education: doubtless, in some measure, because these things have been considered as confined to a theological course, which has been always decidedly sectarian. But a liberal course of truly Christian studies, not indeed of sectarian divinity, ought to constitute the noblest feature in liberal education, commencing in the family, continued in the school, expounded in the academy, still farther perfected in the college, and accomplished in the university.'

That the improvements proposed would render our literary institutions much more effective helps in the work of ministerial improvement, no one can doubt; and that it would be the smallest detriment to the interest of general science, I think no one can ever prove. But if this object were to be effected to an extent consistent with the purely literary character of these institutions, (and surely I would ask nothing more,) would not something still be wanting, in our plans for ministerial education, to give them full effect, and to render them adequate to the exigencies of the times? As things now are, and, as it is to be feared, they may but too long continue, our candidates for the ministry are left with very little to aid them in plodding their way through the preparatory studies which we appoint them; and these are comparatively limited, and in several branches quite inadequate.—*Regular instructions*, in a portion of these studies, if not absolutely necessary, are certainly of vast importance to the facile, thorough, and speedy execution of it. But what should be the particular *mode* and *circumstances* under which such instructions should be provided for in our Church, I will leave at present for the wisdom of the Church to determine. I shall content myself with simply showing the emergency, hoping that the combined wisdom of the Church may be put forth to de-

\* We may form some idea of the ignorance even of the clergy in those days, from what Hersback relates. He states that he heard a monk announce from the pulpit to his audience, 'They,' I suppose the heretics, 'have introduced a new language called the Greek. This must be shunned. It occasions nothing but heresies. Here and there these people have a book in that language, called the New Testament. This book is full of stones and adders. Another language is starting up; the Hebrew. Those that learn it are sure to become Jews.'



wise plans for meeting it. What I insist upon is, that *some scheme for furnishing adequate instructions to our candidates for the ministry, in several important branches of knowledge, not provided for in any of our institutions, or in any existing regulations, is now important to the interests of our Zion.\**

Perhaps it may not be amiss to turn aside, and answer an objection with which I may be met. It may be said, We have done well enough without such helps. God has signally owned and blessed the labors of the Methodist preachers, and there is consequently no call for an experiment of this kind ; that our ministry has done more for the reformation of the world since our Church was organized, without a regular course of preparation for the work, than the ministry of any other Church has done with such a course, and therefore we do not need it. To all this I would reply,—

1. That we have done much without any such aids, I am free to acknowledge ; and would indeed be the last to detract in the least from the vast amount of good which has resulted from the labors of those self-denying men who sustained such incredible toils, and braved so many dangers, in first planting the Gospel standard in the new settlements in our country. It is to their labors, under God, that I owe my spiritual birth, and under them I had all my early training. But the good which has been done does not prove to my satisfaction that the helps contemplated would not vastly increase our moral power : nor indeed does it at all convince me that, could they have been added to our present system, our ministry would not have done *vastly more* in the cause of moral reform, with them, than it has done without them. This part of the objection is indeed opposed to all improvement, of whatever name or nature. Had it been acted upon, it must have prevented the existence of our *literary institutions, our missionary society, Sabbath school associations, our Magazine, and our Advocate and Journal!* For it might have been objected to all these important auxiliaries to our Church, that ‘ we have been greatly owned and blessed without them, therefore we do not need them!’ Surely no stress ought to be laid upon an objection in this case, which, had it been acted upon, would have prevented our participation in some of the greatest schemes of benevolence which adorn the present age ; and which, if

\* I leave the particular mode for the wisdom of the Church to decide at the proper time ; as there are various and conflicting opinions as to this among those who would perfectly agree in the main principle, and as I wish not to trust the fate of my argument to the solidity of my particular notions of the best manner of doing the work. Perhaps any, and every mode which promises success, and is practicable, should be resorted to at once, without waiting to get up some general system. There might be voluntary associations, as classes, organized in connection with our literary institutions, embracing all the licensed preachers and exhorters belonging to those institutions, with others at discretion, for the purpose of studying Biblical criticism, under the instructions of the principal or one of the professors. And those young brethren who cannot have access to this means, might avail themselves of private instructions. And associations for the purpose of mutual improvement in science and Biblical literature might be organized in each annual conference, by which means the junior preachers might have the advice and instructions of their elder and more experienced brethren in some of their more difficult studies. These expedients, or any similar ones, would probably afford much relief to our young men, and materially facilitate their progress.

we act upon them in future, will shut the door against all improvement, and keep our Church stationary, while all others are rushing forward with accelerated motion to keep pace with the improvements of the times.

2. That God has greatly blessed our labors is true. But that a much greater blessing would have followed our labors, had we been able to call into our ranks annually a host of auxiliaries thoroughly imbued with science and Biblical learning, who can doubt? But that such auxiliaries are not loudly called for *now*, who will assert? Has God been wont less to bless the labors of those men who, in addition to deep piety, possessed also extensive learning, than of those who were not learned? I trust we have not forgotten our Wesley, our Fletcher, our Clarke, our Benson, and a host of others, who, though they were among the first in the republic of letters, were by no means among the last in their success in winning souls to Christ.

3. If it be admitted that the success of the Methodist preachers has been much greater than that of any other set of ministers, and if the disproportion were sevenfold greater than any one would pretend, yet it by no means follows, as a consequence, that the *Methodist preachers* have done more good than *they* would have done with some of the helps to ministerial improvement which some other ministers enjoy. And certainly it does not thence follow, that they will in future exert a wider and more salutary influence upon society, and more effectually aid in the great work of Christianizing the world, without them than with them. But to return:—

The call for more effective and systematic exertions, on the part of the Church, in the business of ministerial education, arises from the increasing demands which are made for thoroughly educated ministers in our Church. The demand greatly exceeds the means we now have in operation of bringing them forward. Who has not observed, with the deepest interest, the rapid growth of our country; the rising up, as by some mighty enchantment, of towns and cities in every direction, the march of improvement in the arts and the sciences, and the earnest calls which this state of things brings up to us annually, from every part of the work, for *able ministers*? I know that our literary institutions, courses of study, &c, are doing much, under God, to provide the men. But the work goes on too tardily. Where one is well prepared to take the field, we want a score. And whereas many of us are now ten, or fifteen, and even twenty years, working our way, in connection with pastoral duties, through a course of Biblical studies, which should in most cases be considered preparatory, we ought to be able to accomplish it much more thoroughly in three or four years. We have all remarked the disadvantages which accrue to the Church from the course which some of our most talented ministers feel themselves compelled to pursue. During their two years' probation they have so much to study, and with so few helps, that they have little time for any thing else. After entering, they feel that they have *but just commenced* their course of reading and study, and that nothing should occasion a relaxation of their application to books, or retard them in their regular course. And so, at least in the opinion of many of the people, they prosecute their studies at the expense of regular pastoral duties. And who knows how much the work has actually suffered from this source? But that such ministers do themselves suffer indescribably,

every one knows who has made the experiment. And that it is no small source of mortification to be frequently called in question by the people for neglecting to visit them, and to feel that many things of more or less interest to the Church must be left undone, or a regular course of reading and study be abandoned, or but partially attended to, many have proved by sad experience. Many, influenced by these difficulties, have abandoned their regular course of studies early in their ministry, and have labored for many years, and perhaps will continue to do so through life, with but scanty literary qualifications. All these facts are perfectly obvious to every one who has been but a cursory observer of the Methodist ministry for these few years past. But what can we do, when so pressed by a sort of rivalry between the present and the remote claims of the Church? To be obliged to sacrifice the present and pressing interests of our Zion, to those which are remote, as we do by spending an undue amount of our time in study, and preparing for more efficient service in future, considering the importance which the present exigencies of the Church often assume, and the shortness and uncertainty of human life, is indeed a most fearful dilemma. But here we are: we have commenced in the work of the ministry with few qualifications. We have few helps: and now the tremendous alternative is before us, either to remain but poorly furnished for the work, and of course do comparatively but little good, or devote much of our time to the toilsome and arduous struggle of acquiring the requisite qualifications alone and unaided!

But where shall we find the remedy? This is the grand question. Should it be said, Increase the action of the present system by extending the course of study, and adding to the rigor of the examinations; this the slightest observation will convince us is impracticable. Our course of study is already complained of as being, under the circumstances, quite too extensive, and our examinations too rigorous; and the complaint is not without reason. For we require *much* reading and study in a *short time*, and without affording the least assistance. And should we require *more* in the same time, and add no facilities, the effect would necessarily be, that many will shrink from the task we appoint them, and will either abandon the object in despair, or go where they can be afforded means to qualify themselves for the work. And a few, a precious few only, who may have been favored with extraordinary opportunities in early life, or have extraordinary powers of mind, and vigor of constitution, will find their way into our itinerancy. This is a result much to be deprecated. But all past experience, and the philosophy of the human mind, prove that, without a miracle, it will be inevitable. Let us not then bind new burdens upon our young brethren, without giving them some additional strength or advantages to enable them to bear them.

But perhaps some may propose to continue those candidates who may be deficient in literary qualifications, upon trial three or four years. This would indeed have the effect to keep out of the conference some who are unqualified, who would otherwise enter. But it must be seen that it would not materially expedite the work of preparation. It would add no new facilities to bring forward the candidate sooner and better qualified for the work, and consequently would not meet the case. Any expedient whatever which gives the student



no help is inadequate, and not to be relied on in this case. *How we may furnish the candidate for the ministry the most effective aid in his preparatory studies*, is the grand question. And this inquiry comes within the range of the duties and responsibilities of the Church. The age of miracles is now passed; and the Church is as much thrown upon her own resources in providing means for the education of her ministers, as she is in providing means to carry on her missionary operations, or any other of her benevolent enterprizes. Is it then anti-Christian or anti-Methodistic to say that she must address herself to this work just as she does in any of these departments of labor? That is, *she must provide the means*,—the means of ministerial education. Now how could a community or a nation ever raise up an adequate number of educated men for instructors in the public schools, for the learned professions, and to fill the offices of the government, without supplying the means of general education? No more can the Church supply her altars with the requisite number of thoroughly-educated ministers, without supplying the means of ministerial education? The cases are precisely parallel. For the studies which are now important to all those who have the means previous to their entering upon pastoral duties, can be pursued to as much greater advantage, under regular instructions, as any of the branches of a classical education. This will be obvious upon but a glance at some of these studies. A liberal course would embrace *Biblical criticism*, technically called hermeneutics; embracing exegesis of the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Greek Testament, with the principles of interpretation; *Biblical archaeology, geography, and chronology*; *The evidences, doctrines, morals, and institutions of Christianity*. And, finally, *ecclesiastical history, Church government, and practical theology*. And who would pretend that there is any less need of the assistance of competent instructors in order to the successful prosecution of these studies than in the study of the classics or the mathematics?

It will not avail any thing to object that many of our preachers have encompassed all these branches without the aid of regular instructions. For it may be answered, that many have mastered the Greek and Roman classics, a full course of mathematics, and run almost the whole circle of the sciences, without the advantages of a college course, or of regular instructions in any form. But does this prove that provisions for regular instructions in the sciences are unimportant or unnecessary? This no one will pretend. In both cases some few master spirits, unaided, may by dint of application, and the force of extraordinary intellect, conquer the difficulties of an extensive course. But let any one who has made serious attempts at this, in either case, say whether the assistance of competent instructors would not have been an acceptable relief to his aching head, and as a cordial to his fainting spirit. But as to the great mass, without such aid, as well Biblical as merely literary students, they will remain at the foot of the hill of knowledge, and the world will be deprived of the services which, if they were enabled to ascend it, they would be prepared to render.—Some have not the intellectual strength, others have not the perseverance, others have not the relish for hard study;—and a precious few, who have all these, have the iron constitution absolutely necessary for such a work. And of these how great a part of their precious lives

is spent in feeling their way through the dark, and in grappling with the ruggedness of the way, empty-handed and without a guide? And much of this time, let it not be forgotten, had they been favored with the proper aid, might have been employed in active service for the benefit of society: but now this time is lost—absolutely and irrecoverably lost! And as we see these observations so often verified in those ministers whose public labors are likely to be of the greatest benefit to the world: whose services are most pressingly demanded in every direction, and whose days of public labor are at the most but too few for the interests of the Church; is it not high time that we were casting about for some grand remedy? Or, at least, that we were seeking some relief from an evil so threatening?

An argument of no little force, in favor of some provision for efficient aid in the study of the higher branches of theological literature, is derived from the advanced and constantly advancing state of *Biblical learning* in the country. An increasing attention is now paid to the original Scriptures; and the real importance of a knowledge of the languages in which our sacred books were written, to a minister of the Gospel, appears now to be universally felt and acknowledged. The originals are now studied and referred to as the last and highest authority, by theologians and preachers of all classes, orthodox and heterodox. So much is this the case, that it is thought disreputable for a minister, under ordinary circumstances, not to have some knowledge of them; and one is constantly liable to meet some antagonist who makes pretensions, either true or false, to a knowledge of the original languages of the Bible.

The famous German scholar, Dr. Jahn, observes: 'Jerome, in his letter to Sophronius, says, "A Jew, when disputing with you, and wishing to elude the arguments which you adduce, will affirm, as often as you quote any passage of the Old Testament, *It is not so in the Hebrew.*"' Such an opponent may every theologian now have; and if he is unacquainted with the original languages of the Bible, he must either have some Jerome at hand, whom he may consult, or he will be thrown into great perplexity, as he professes to teach what he has not himself learned. A dexterous opponent in theology, (and opponents there are in our age, both numerous and respectable for talents,) may not only answer like the Jew, for the sake of eluding your arguments from Scripture, but in serious earnest may reply, much oftener than is commonly supposed, that 'the original does not convey the sentiment which you assign to the translation.'

Professor Stuart gives his views upon this subject as follows: '1. No translation is or ever was made by inspired men; none, therefore, is secure, in all respects, from the effects of human frailty and error. The original Scriptures then are, and always must be, the only *ultimate* and *highest* source of appeal to establish any sentiment pertaining to doctrine or practice. Such has been the grand maxim of the most learned Protestants in all their disputes with the Roman Church.

'2. All revealed religion, or *Biblical theology*, depends solely on what is contained in the Scriptures. "The Bible is the *only* and sufficient rule of faith and practice." What this says is orthodoxy; and what this does not say, or plainly imply, is not necessary to our faith and practice. The ultimate appeal, of course, in every point in theolo-

gy, is the declarations of Scripture. It matters not, to the unprejudiced inquirer, what writers or preachers have inculcated as theology, if it be not supported by the word of God.

‘3. Who is in the best situation to make and judge of the appeal in question; which, for the reason above stated, must always be made to the *original* Scriptures? The man who does not understand them, or the man who does? And is it desirable that a teacher of religion should be able, in case of dispute, or to satisfy his own mind, to make the *highest* appeal which can be made, to the book on whose decisions he depends for support?’

Professor Robinson, with his usual perspicuity and force, says:— ‘The day, we trust, has passed away, in which the body of our clergy will remain contented to receive their knowledge of our sacred books through the medium of mere translations, or on the authority of commentators. The spirit of the reformation is again at work; the rights of private judgment are beginning to be felt on this subject as they long have been on all others; and if these be exercised with proper dispositions, the results cannot but be most auspicious. To those who have reflected upon the subject, it cannot but be evident that an *intimate* acquaintance with those oracles of our religion can be acquired only by an attentive study of the originals. The great outlines of Divine truth are indeed so prominent and obvious that no version, however inadequate, can entirely conceal them from view; so that even in the worst translation there may yet be found all that is essential to salvation. In this secondary form of translation, too, the great body of Christians in every country must necessarily be content to receive the Scriptures. But they who are to be the teachers of religion; who are expected to become familiar with the word of life, that they may illustrate its power, and enforce its application upon their fellow men, ought never to rest satisfied with the imperfect knowledge which can be acquired through the medium of versions.’

To the testimony of these eminent scholars and theologians we add that of the venerated Wesley; which, though it was entered when sacred philology was comparatively in its infancy, is scarcely less conclusive:—‘But can he do this in the most effectual manner,’ [i. e. ‘be mighty in the Scriptures; able to instruct and to stop the mouths of gainsayers,’] ‘without a knowledge of the original tongues? Without this, will he not be frequently at a stand, even as to texts which regard practice only? But he will be under still greater difficulties with respect to controverted scriptures. He will be ill able to rescue these out of the hands of any man of learning that would pervert them; for whenever an appeal is made to the original, his mouth is stopped at once.’

To these views it is often objected, that we have the results of the labors of the most learned critics in our own language: and, as we cannot hope to exceed them in our knowledge of the original languages, but at best can obtain but a smattering, it is a useless expense of time and labor to attempt to learn them. To this it may be answered, that we must not suppose that all has been done by critics that can be done to any good purpose, by way of illustrating the language of the sacred writings. That much has been done by learned and judicious commentators to remove difficulties and clear away ob-



scurities from the Scriptures, will not be questioned; but the diligent student of the Bible and of sacred criticism, cannot but be convinced that much more remains to be done. And a share of this, by reading the originals, any one may do for himself, much more to his own satisfaction than another can do it for him. Indeed it is impossible that all the beauty, force, and shades of meaning, contained in the originals, should ever be fully developed by translators and commentators. If it could be done, as St. John says of a history of all the actions of Christ, 'the world itself would not contain the books which would be written' upon the subject. But by a bare ability to read the originals with tolerable facility the Biblical student is able to explain many passages, upon which he would find nothing satisfactory in the critics and commentators if he should search the whole of them. And it deserves farther to be remarked, that it is impossible for a person fully to enter into the labors of competent critics, without being able to see how they arrive at their conclusions: and this it is often impossible to do, without being able to follow them in their investigations of the original text. And how often do we meet with Greek and Hebrew words and sentences, and criticisms upon them, in the plainest commentaries upon the Bible, which the merely English scholar is either not able to understand at all, or which he sees so little force in, that he passes over them with little attention and no interest. Not to urge that modern theologians and critics throw so much of the ancient languages into their pages, without an attempt at translation, that it is little less than in vain for a person to attempt to read some of the most valuable of their works without some knowledge of those languages.

Another objection, which perhaps deserves a passing notice, is, that those who learn the dead languages commonly forget them again—and so lose their labor. To this it is sufficient to answer, that languages may be retained in the memory as well as any other kind of knowledge, provided they be constantly reduced to use, and this is the only way to retain the knowledge of any branch of science. *Constant reading* will enable the student of the originals not only to retain what knowledge he has of them, but to make daily improvement in that knowledge. And it is truly mysterious that a minister of the Gospel, of sound judgment and good taste, who has been at the great pains of learning these languages, should throw them by and forget them. His object in learning them should be that he might more profitably read, and better understand God's word. He should therefore make it a part of his daily duties, and he would find it a pleasing and profitable exercise to read the Bible by course in the original languages. This course would not fail to familiarize these languages to his mind, and to imbue his soul with the spirit and sentiments of the lively oracles of God.

And these views most unquestionably present a powerful plea for adequate provisions for instructions in the languages in which the Scriptures were written. I grant that these languages may be advantageously studied, under some circumstances, without regular instructions; and that the study of them is earnestly to be recommended to every minister who has health and advantages to do so. But how much the regular assistance of a competent teacher would facilitate

his progress, I need scarcely urge.\* It is, indeed, cause of gratitude and congratulation, that such are now the facilities for acquiring a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, that a tolerable knowledge of these languages may now be said to be within the reach of every thorough and diligent student. We have improved grammars of the Greek language, and Greek and English lexicons, both classical and Biblical, containing the results of the researches of able linguists. The works of the great Hebraist, Gesenius, upon the grammar and lexicography of the Hebrew language, are given us in an English dress; the grammar by Professor Stuart, and the lexicon by Professor Gibbs. So that we are now no longer under the necessity of acquiring Greek and Hebrew through the medium of the Latin, but are conducted directly to the best sources of information in our own vernacular tongue; through which means the student is saved a world of painful labor and vexation in the acquisition of them.

The following remarks of Professor Stuart upon the study of the languages are so much to my purpose, that I hope I need make no apology for inserting them:—‘If a man really loves study,—has an eager attachment to the acquisition of knowledge,—nothing but peculiar sickness or misfortune will prevent his being a student, and his possessing, in some good degree, the means of study. The fact is, that when men complain of want of time for study, and want of means, they also show that, after all, they are either attached to some other objects of pursuit, or have no part nor lot in the spirit of a student. They will applaud others, it may be, who do study, and look with some degree of satisfaction, or a kind of wonder upon their acquisitions; but, for themselves, they cannot spare the time nor expense necessary to make such acquisitions, or they put it to the account of their humility, and bless themselves that they are not *ambitious*. In most of all these cases, however, either the love of the world, or genuine laziness lies at the bottom. Had they more energy and decision of character, and did they redeem the precious moments that they lose in laboriously doing nothing, or nothing to the purpose of the Church, they might open all the treasures of the east and the west, and have them at their disposal. I might safely promise a good knowledge of Hebrew and Greek to most men of this sort, if they would diligently improve the time that they absolutely throw away in the course of three or four years. While one man is deliberating whether he had better study a language, another man has attained it. Such is the difference between decision and energetic action, and a timid, hesitating, and indolent manner of pursuing literary acquisitions. And what is worst of all in this temporizing class of students, is, that if you reason with them, and convince them that they are pursuing a wrong course, that conviction operates no longer than until the next paroxysm of indolence, or a worldly spirit comes on. These syren charmers lull every energetic power of the mind to sleep. The mistaken man, who listens to their voice, finds himself at the age of forty

\* The assistance necessary in acquiring the grammatical forms of the languages, may be had in the academies where they are taught. But what I have particularly in view, in this connection, is a *critical reading* of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament; embracing the study of the peculiar idioms and *usus loquendi* of these languages, not now provided for in the literary institutions.

just where he was at thirty. At fifty his decline has already begun.— At sixty, he is universally regarded with indifference, which he usually repays with misanthropy. And if he has the misfortune to live until he is seventy, every body is uneasy because he is not transferred to a better world.'

It is no wonder that to such men the study of languages is intolerably hard and dry. This is, in fact, the case with every other study that lays a tax upon their diligence and patience. But I must not be understood to denounce all who do not engage in the study of the languages. Undoubtedly there are many, very many, of my fellow laborers whose age, health, and opportunities for prosecuting these studies are such, that it would be altogether improper for them to undertake them. 'Nor,' says the gentleman just quoted, 'am I such a strenuous advocate for the studies in question, as to maintain that no cases can occur where young men should not be licensed to preach,' [and ordained too,] 'without the knowledge of them. Does not the Church need teachers of all degrees of knowledge? May not ardent piety, united with good sense, inculcate the fundamental principles of religion, and be the means of saving multitudes, though it is associated with a very moderate stock of learning? I answer, without hesitation, in the affirmative. The Church needs in her service officers of all ranks; and soldiers too may surely be employed to a very valuable purpose. Every day's experience shows this where the trial is made. And thus, too, did the primitive Christians, "They that were scattered abroad, went every where preaching the word;" that is, publishing the doctrines of the Gospel. These were not apostles, but Christians of the common rank. I should not hesitate a moment in employing pious men of all degrees of knowledge, *to teach what they are adequate to teach.*'

These would be but common-place observations, coming from a *Methodist*. I have quoted them with approbation, not only to show that this eminent theologian and scholar has, as the result of his own observation, arrived at the same results with Mr. Wesley, and taken up the principles upon which he organized the Methodist ministry,—but also that there might not be left the shadow of a reason for a supposition, from what I have advanced upon this subject, that I have forsaken those principles.

But, before I leave this point, I must notice another material deficiency in the means of education. I refer to the entire want of pecuniary provisions for the education of young men of approved piety and gifts, who have not the means to support themselves at school. Many such there are who *feel an inward drawing* to the high and holy relation of a minister of the Gospel. But they have not the literary qualifications which they see to be necessary to the office, and they have not the *means* to sustain themselves at school. Some of these young men are struggling *slowly* along, by teaching school, or attending to some other employment, for the greater part of the year, and attending school the remainder of the time. In this way they *lose much time*. If some provision were made for their *gratuitous education*, so that they might be permitted to devote the whole of their time and strength to their studies, at some one of our literary institutions, more than half of their time would be saved to the Church, and they would come forward



much better furnished for the work. But there are still others who, unable to sustain themselves at school, and knowing that the Church has made no provision for them, shrink from the least approach to the duty to which they feel themselves called, and are in their shops, or offices, or fields, withering and dying under that fearful *wo* which constrained Paul to assume the awfully responsible work of a watchman upon the walls of Zion. Can nothing be done to bring out these men, and to afford them encouragement and aid under the heart-breaking pressures and difficulties of their condition? Might not education societies be organized in every annual conference, for this purpose? And if a plan for such societies were carried out among our people, can it be possible that they would draw tight their purse strings with one hand, and raise up the other in annual supplications to our bishops, for *more able ministers* to fill their circuits and stations? Let them know that the men are already called, '*moved by the Holy Ghost,*' and are panting to be thrust out into the field, but are *delayed and held back* by the stern hand of want. Let them know that the means to prepare a host of vigorous, effective, and acceptable laborers are in their own hands, and that if they will furnish them, they shall be economically and faithfully applied: and I doubt not these means will be forthcoming; and the gates of our Zion will soon be made glad by reason of an abundant supply of watchmen upon her walls. Upon this subject I feel much, and could say much, but have not time now to enlarge. A hint only must suffice: and with this I must dismiss this part of my subject, already protracted to a tedious length.

II. The *second* cause which I shall notice, as operating unfavorably upon the cause of ministerial improvement, is the defects which I conceive to exist in our courses of study.

The first I shall notice is, that in these courses we begin too low. All the courses I have seen, take it for granted that the student may be ignorant of the common branches of an English education,—such as English grammar, geography, &c: and consequently prescribe the small elementary works upon these subjects, used in the common schools. Now, how is any one to begin with the very elements of an English education,—pass through the sciences,—study theology,—and attend to the duties of a travelling preacher at the same time, within the term of *two years*? It strikes me forcibly that the time has gone by, when these small studies should stand upon the catalogue of studies appointed for candidates for admission into the annual conferences. That *now*, no person (except under very extraordinary circumstances,) ought to receive a license to preach, or even to exhort, without a knowledge of the lower branches of an English education. At least, as many of them as a child of eight or ten usually masters in our common schools. But so long as men commence these branches, and commence travelling a circuit simultaneously, so long we shall continue to find many of them deficient, even in the common branches, when they come to be examined at the end of two years.

Another defect is in the catalogue of books. This often consists in a list of books, jumbled together without much classification or order. And commonly so many of them upon the several branches, that the student is lost in the maze, or absolutely discouraged. The course prescribed in this conference has been several times revised and improved. And

it is probable that it will be judged expedient to revise it again, and to substitute some new works, which have come before the public since it was drawn up, for some now upon the catalogue, of less value, or less adapted to such a course.\*

Another defect is the want of suitable *text books*. Upon several of the branches, this has hitherto been a deficiency of no small magnitude. A text book for our candidates should embody the subject in as close and compendious a form as possible, and be characterized by a perspicuous and natural method. It is therefore to be hoped that the time is not far distant when our committee will not be under the necessity of putting into the hands of our candidates a series of volumes, or a pile of pamphlets, upon any one subject, but will be able to supply them with suitable text books upon all the branches. When this shall be the case a great difficulty will be removed.

The last defect I shall notice arises from our manner of examining the candidates. We examine them on all the branches prescribed, from the first to the last, *at the same time*. The prospect of such a terrible siege so excites some of the candidates as to induce them to overact, and so overwhelms others with dread, that they either recede from the fiery ordeal, or enter it void of all self confidence, and are not able to answer questions which are at other times perfectly familiar to them. If the studies were divided into two parts, and one portion of them appropriated to the first year, and the remainder to the second, and an examination had at the end of each year, it would undoubtedly much relieve the candidate, and enhance the utility of these examinations.†

But an improvement of much greater importance than any here suggested, is the extension of the course to *four years*. It is a lamentable fact that some of our young men exert themselves commendably until they are admitted; and when they have passed the straits they relax their efforts, and sometimes appear to give them entirely over. But if they were to be subjected to four successive examinations, they would continue to apply themselves to their studies until they had acquired a competent stock of knowledge, and formed regular habits of study. But until this arrangement shall be made by the General Conference, we hope in this conference to find a partial remedy, at least, for the evils of the present system, in the annual examinations of this association.

III. The *third* cause of the want of literature among us arises from the fact that many are prematurely called into the work. So numerous and pressing are the calls for laborers in our opening fields, that we often employ young men of few or no scientific attainments, and scarcely any theological knowledge; and give them so much work to do that they have very little time for pursuing a regular course of studies. Many of these, could they have time and means, would be amply furnished for the work. But now it is next to impossible, or at least so very difficult, that but few such ever attain the object. It has ever appeared to me much better that the work should suffer a temporary inconvenience, than that the Church should be ultimately deprived of an able ministry. It is urged in excuse for this policy that

\* This was accordingly done. † This arrangement was adopted by the conference.

the necessities of the Church are great. Of this I am by no means insensible. And it is for this very reason that the best care should be taken of all the materials which can be wrought into efficient instruments of usefulness. None of these should be spoiled by calling them into use prematurely. If we compel our young men to buckle on the harness before they have acquired the strength and vigor necessary to sustain and use it to advantage, they will quite break down under its weight; or, at best, their growth will be so stunted and cramped that they will for ever remain dwarfs. I have, to my deep regret, seen this observation verified in very many instances. It is not a case of rare occurrence for young men who had made a fair beginning in their literary pursuits, and were successfully prosecuting their studies, under competent instructors, to be torn from their appropriate work, and put upon a circuit or station. Here they relinquish their scientific pursuits, and turn their attention to sermonizing, in which they are obliged to occupy most of their hours of study. Not having gone far enough in the elements of general science to enable them to pursue their course under so many difficulties, and without assistance, much of their former labor is lost. And here, very frequently, it may be said of them, '*They have finished their studies.*'

But is this good economy? Is it the most successful course to meet the continued and multiplied calls of the Church for efficient laborers? Is it not cutting off our resources, and perpetuating the very evils it is designed to cure? In bringing forward a young man, a regard should no doubt be had to circumstances. As some will be prepared for the work much sooner than others, under the same circumstances, no invariable rule should be established as to the time they should occupy in preparatory studies. But when a young man has acquired sound practical knowledge sufficient to enable him to labor acceptably and successfully as a preacher, and to prosecute his theological investigations in connection with ministerial duties, he may then safely be employed, whether he has been preparing a longer or a shorter time.

It is found a very difficult task to unite much study with so much ministerial labor as is required of a Methodist travelling preacher. He has to preach from three to ten times a week: he has to visit the sick, to bury the dead, to administer the discipline, to attend to the interests of the great benevolent institutions, and to those of the Book Concern, &c, &c. With all this labor upon his hands and heart, after preparing himself to meet his congregations, what time will he be likely to find for a systematic course of study? If he finds any time for this purpose, and certainly if he finds time to prosecute the study of the sciences, in connection with theology, it can only be by a close and uniform attention to the rules of a preacher, laid down in the Discipline:—'Be diligent. Never be unemployed. Never be triflingly employed. Never trifle away time. Never spend any more time at any place than is strictly necessary. Be punctual. Do every thing at the time.' A close attention to these rules was the grand secret of the Herculean labors performed by Mr. Wesley. And the same attention upon our part will not fail, under any ordinary circumstances, to secure to us at least respectable qualifications for the work. But, alas! how few of us, my brethren, strictly adhere to them? In consequence



of this irregularity, an attention to our official duties consumes all our time, and we have none left for study.

It is indeed cause of great joy and gratitude to the great Head of the Church, that he has thrust the Methodist preachers into so many open doors, and has rendered them the instruments of so much good. But there are new doors daily opening, that we shall not be able to enter, but which will be entered by others, unless the literary character of our ministry generally assume more elevated ground. In order to this a spirit of emulation and enterprise, upon the subject of literature, must be diffused through the whole mass! (And that this will soon be the case, if I am not mistaken, there is daily and increasing evidence.) And if it should not be judged best speedily to enter upon some new and well-concerted project for the more rapid and thorough training of our young preachers, we must make the very best use of the means we have already in operation, and the plans we have already on foot must be followed up with system and energy. Unless this is the case we cannot rationally indulge the hope that we shall be able to meet the expectations of the American public, or fill the sphere of action to which we are evidently called by the providence of God.

IV. The *fourth* cause of the evil complained of which I shall notice, is the want of method in reading and study. Some pursue no method at all. They read just as the fit takes them,—and any book that may chance to fall in their way. They read no book regularly, but a little in this and a little in that, and finally know little or nothing about any. Ask such a man whether he has read the most common work, and he will probably answer, ‘I have read a part of it.’ But if such readers get through a work, it is in so desultory a manner that they can give little account of what it contains. A book that is worth any more attention than barely to look over the table of contents, in most cases, should be thoroughly read. And very few books which we do not intend to *study*, as well as read entirely through, should occupy our attention for an hour after gaining a general idea of their contents. To this observation, however, I should of course except all works of reference. But he that would read to purpose must not only read diligently, but he must read *methodically*. He must always have a book on hand which he is reading and *studying* by course.

Others there are who *read too much*, and *reflect too little* upon what they read. They throw more materials upon the mind than it can retain or digest; and so great part of their labor goes for nothing.—And there are still others who *read too slow*. They are so long going through a book, and their reading seasons are so ‘few and far between,’ that the chain of thought is broken, and the author is not comprehended. The subject studied exists in the minds of such readers in disjointed parts and broken fragments, and adds little or nothing to their stock of knowledge.

Light and unprofitable reading is too frequently indulged in. Some there are who read little or nothing excepting periodicals;—newspapers, magazines, &c. Though this species of reading has its use, yet it should not be made a leading object, much less should it constitute the whole range of a minister’s literary resources.

V. The *fifth* cause of the evil under consideration, at which I would just hint, is a want of taste for reading and study. It is a happy cir-

cumstance that this evil is every day subsiding. Still, however, we have reason to fear that it does exist, even now, in too many instances. The evidence of the fact, and the mischief it occasions, I cannot now enlarge upon. I would, however, just say that though I am far from having a disposition to make unkind reflections upon any class of ministers, yet I cannot but feel that the advice of Mr. Wesley, and of our excellent Discipline to such as have 'no taste for reading,' is most just and appropriate: 'Contract a taste for it by use, or return to your former employment.' For I can but think that the man who engages in the ministry without a taste for books, and is not able to contract such a taste by use, has sadly mistaken his appropriate calling; and that he cannot remain in it without great hazard to the Church.

VI. The *sixth* and last source of the difficulty complained of, is the want of books upon sacred criticism. Though this reason may now scarcely be said to exist, yet we still feel the chilling effects of the iron age which is but just passed. Your speaker, though but of yesterday, can recollect reading every word of Wood's Dictionary of the Bible for the sake of the scraps of Biblical criticism which are found scattered through the work; and also studying thoroughly, and by course, Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament, as furnishing the best exposition of the sacred text within his reach. But thanks to Providence, and, under Providence, to the editors and publishers of our books, that the more recent race of our preachers are not so straitened. We now have learned and critical commentaries upon the whole Bible, with many other critical works, upon detached parts of the Scriptures, having for their object the illustration of their language, and a faithful exhibition of their doctrines. And we confidently hope that the time is not far distant when there will be no lack of books in any department of sacred literature, in the catalogue issued from our own press. And if I may be permitted, I would here suggest an opinion that a periodical of a highly literary and critical character, issued from our press, appears to be a desideratum. It is a mortifying fact that we are doing but little upon the subject of Biblical criticism. And, indeed, we scarcely know what is doing in this and other countries upon this subject, only as we go abroad for information. If we had a periodical in which should be published translations of select articles from the German critics, critical notices of new foreign publications, with reviews of the new works which are published at home and abroad, it would, at least in the judgment of your humble speaker, make a work which would be a vast means of improvement to the Methodist ministry in Biblical learning. And I should be sorry to doubt whether such a work would be sustained. If none but the travelling and local preachers, or all the travelling and *half* the local preachers were to take each a copy, it ought to pay the expenses of editing and publishing. Look at what our Presbyterian brethren are doing in this way! Their quarterlies are sent out from all the great cities, and many of the large towns in the union. They are ably conducted and well sustained. The work I would have, need not interfere in the least with the Magazine.\* That should be a popular work, this should be highly

\* These are very important suggestions. But we would submit whether the Magazine and Quarterly itself might not be improved into such a work? With

literary and critical ; and should call out powerful pens which are now slumbering, and no doubt will continue to slumber until some such vehicle of communication is introduced. But I must now hasten to a conclusion, with a few words to the members of this association.

*Brethren of the society*, this is the first anniversary of this association. Its formation affords cheering evidence that the spirit of enterprise is at work among us ; that there is a disposition not only to use the ordinary means of improvement, but to put forth new and extraordinary efforts to raise the tone of literature in our conference. The measure was entered upon as an experiment ; not knowing what might be its result ; yet hoping that it would at least furnish new stimulants to mental efforts, and no inconsiderable aid to such as are pursuing a regular course of advanced studies. Hence its formation met with general approbation, and was, indeed, hailed by many with a high degree of joy. What may yet be the success of the enterprise is, perhaps, problematical. But we can but hope that this association is destined either to run a long and brilliant course, or to be merged in something still better calculated to effect the high object of its organization.

But that it may succeed to our wishes, *two* things are indispensable. *Energy* and *concert*. Without the former, it will die a lingering death : and without the latter, it will expire by the violence of its professed friends. It is for us to say what it shall become, and what influence it shall exert upon the subject of mental improvement within our bounds. Though it proffers its benefits to all classes of the preachers, yet it is hoped that it will be found especially beneficial to the younger members of the conference. To them it will serve as a guide in their course, and its annual examinations will operate as a spur to diligence. Indeed we hope it may prove a nucleus around which shall be encircled all the mental and moral power of the conference, and that every member will feel himself sacredly bound to further its great objects by every exertion in his power. This it is particularly desirable should be the case with the leading members, that their example may act upon the junior preachers. Finally : let us all recollect that we are not acting for ourselves, nor for the present generation merely : but that our conduct, and particularly our plans for improvement, will affect posterity to the end of time ; and that it is per-

a view to its enlargement and literary improvement, the present editor, soon after he came into office, submitted a paper to one of our oldest and most respectable annual conferences, recommending such improvements as should comprehend a greater variety of critical and literary pieces ; but so little attention was paid to these suggestions, that the paper was merely read, and laid on the table, and never taken up for consideration. The editor has also, on a variety of occasions, urged this subject upon his brethren without receiving scarcely a cordial respond by way of encouragement ; but he still hopes that measures will be adopted both for the enlargement of this work, and for the improvement of its character, literary and scientific, by enlisting the talents and securing the labors of able and industrious correspondents. A reference to its pages, even in its present small size, will show that there is room enough for many more original compositions than are admitted. And surely it cannot be expected that an editor, from his own resources merely, can furnish original matter to fill and enrich the pages of such a work. While, therefore, we thank our brother for his suggestions, we invite a continuance of his favors, as well as the pens of others to render the pages of this periodical the more valuable.—EDITOR.



fectly within our power to bring upon ourselves the blessings of future ages. Generations yet unborn may look back to the organization of this society as to a new and interesting era in the literary history of this conference. Let us then, brethren, take hold of the work like men. And give 'a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull all together,' and nothing shall obstruct our progress or mar our success, but our most enlarged expectations shall be realized.

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REED'S AND MATHESON'S NARRATIVE.

*A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches, by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales. By ANDREW REED, D. D., and JAMES MATHESON, D. D.*

WE have become so accustomed to the abuse of foreign travellers, that whenever we take up a book of travels, purporting to be written by a British tourist in the United States, we are prepared to con over pages of misrepresentation, calumny, and ridicule. We expect, indeed, to see our institutions the butt of sarcasm, our manners caricatured, our country defamed, and our usages, civil and religious, severely criticised. Nor are we at all displeased at having our faults told us plainly, if their exposure be accompanied with an apparent desire that they should be corrected, and with a suitable allowance for those foibles which arise out of our youth and inexperience, and which are characteristic, less or more, of all nations: for we no more consider ourselves exempt from the common frailties of human nature, nor yet from actual faults which might and therefore ought to be corrected, than we expect to be treated with justice by a bigoted foreigner.

Whether it be a lingering resentment which is still fostered against us for asserting our independence, and maintaining our civil and religious rights, or a spirit of jealousy on account of our growing prosperity, or whether it be owing to that partiality which all true patriots feel for their own domestic firesides and political peculiarities, or whether all these things co-operate to produce their appropriate results, it seems that most of English tourists who have visited our shores, and have published the results of their observations, have betrayed a want of that candor and strict regard to justice and truth which should characterize all who write for the information of the public.

As before remarked, we do not complain that our defects are noticed, if it be done in a becoming manner, nor that our character should be critically analyzed, if allowance be made for those frailties which are inseparable from human nature. But it appears to us unreasonable to expect that perfection in America which can be found nowhere else. If all the inhabitants of England were angels and not men—if every stage driver, every innkeeper, farmer, and mechanic, in

England exhibited the perfections of polished gentlemen, the profound thought of a thorough-bred philosopher, and every rustic exemplified the graces of a well-educated and practical Christian,—then might the American stage drivers, innkeepers, farmers, and mechanics be held up as objects of reproach by English writers for not showing off to the best advantage all the elegancies of refined life, and all the intelligence and grace of a genuine Christian. And even though those persons in America, holding the same stations in society as those in older countries, may fall beneath them in their general demeanor, it may not be so much owing to themselves as to their circumstances—circumstances over which they have no control—and to which therefore they are compelled to bow whether they will or not.

The manners of different nations are formed, in a great measure, from the institutions under which they live. Those who have had their birth and education where monarchy is established, and where the nobility form a distinct class, into whose presence the common people dare not intrude but with their hats under their arms, and in the posture of inferiors, necessarily contract a different form of manners from those who have grown up in a republic, where distinctions are less artificial, and where the tests of human character are principally moral worth and integrity, intelligence and patriotism. We do not say, indeed, that these tests belong exclusively to republics, nor yet that they are always resorted to for the purpose of selecting such a man as the nation shall delight to honor. But what we mean to say is this:—that in an aristocratical country, where the king and nobility tower up above the rest of the nation to such a height that they are accustomed to look down upon those below them with a sort of scornful indifference—where wealth marks the boundaries between man and man—there is such a wide gulf between the one and the other, that they are unapproachable by that sort of familiarity which is exemplified in those countries where a greater equality generally prevails; and that this circumstance, of itself, forms a difference in the manners of the people: and, furthermore, that this ought to be taken into the account in the estimate which is made of the character of different nations.

Without pretending to deliver a lecture upon the qualifications of a traveller in foreign lands, to enable him to make a judicious use of his opportunities for remarks on the character of the people he may visit, we may be permitted to say that such a one ought, as far as possible, to divest himself of all partiality for his own country, its customs, habits, institutions and manners—otherwise he will but detail his own partialities and prejudices—he will spread before his readers his own views of right and wrong, of proprieties and improprieties, instead of exhibiting facts as they are, and of delineating characters, customs, and habits, as they exist in real life. Those who place themselves upon

the iron bedstead which has been thus prepared for them, must cut and mangle to an alarming extent, to make all others fit it, or be thrown aside as too long or too short. Nor is it less exceptionable to infer the character of a nation from the opinions and conduct of a few—to conclude that that belongs to the whole which is peculiar to one class, to one individual of a class, or to one section of a country. From not observing this most obvious rule, some who have hastily traversed our country, have made their remarks from conversations in stages, steam boats, and at public houses, without spending one moment's time in exploring the heart and soul of society in order to ascertain the true state and character of the nation.

These remarks apply chiefly to such as have visited our country from political motives, for amusement, or merely for the sake of enlarging the boundaries of their knowledge of mankind by actual observation. The reports of these travellers have often been as destitute of truth and candor as their authors were of proper qualifications to make a just estimate of the human character. And as for those whose infamous libels scarcely deserve a serious refutation, who, like Basil Hall, and others, denounce every thing American which does not coincide with their partialities, we cannot expect them to treat us with any degree of truth or justice ; and hence their caricatures fall harmless at our feet.

From Drs. Reed and Matheson we had a right to expect better things, and we rejoice that in many respects we have not been disappointed. Though they evidently came here under an impression that we had far degenerated from our fathers, and with a determination to be displeased with many things, which they had been informed were not as they should be, or of which they had imbibed imperfect or confused notions, yet it is manifest that they were prepared to put a favorable construction on every thing as far as their prejudices would allow. If they had not previously made up their minds to be discommoded, why was it that almost the first thing they inquired for, on their entrance into a public house in the city of New-York, was a single-bedded room ? They certainly must have taken it for granted, probably from such gossiping writers as Mrs. Trollope, that such a thing was a rare luxury at an American hotel, or they would have asked simply to be accommodated with a room and a bed. And then behold they were annoyed amazingly because, coming into the inn at an unseasonable hour, and not representing themselves as strangers who had just arrived, and asking for refreshment, they were put off with some cake and cheese, instead of a regular meal. Was not this their own fault ? Had they made known their character and circumstances, we dare venture to say that there was provision enough ; if not in the house, at least in the city, and servants enough to prepare it, to satisfy the most



voracious appetites. Thus they transfer their own blunder to the fault of the innkeeper. We merely select this instance to sustain the truth of our assertion, that these reverend travellers, who came to serve a Master who had not where to lay His head, were not free from that petulance, so characteristic of our nature, and from that prejudice which is so apt to show itself in our transatlantic visitors.

Allowing that there are many excellencies in the volumes before us ; enough to insure them a favorable reception, at least to a certain class of readers ; yet there is, in our estimation, one fault which pervades the whole performance, and ought, therefore, to induce caution in the reader how he receives what is here related. These tourists were clergymen of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. They came on a pastoral visit to the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of this country. And if they had confined their published remarks to these denominations only, we should not be disposed to find any fault with either their eulogies or censures, had they been just or unjust. In that case it would have been a business of their own, and of their immediate brethren : and if they had committed faults or made erroneous statements, they would have injured comparatively few beside their own denomination. But instead of pursuing this course, apparently without going beyond the precincts of their own immediate circle for information, they have made remarks, and stated, as facts, things respecting others as opposite to truth and charity, as is the zenith from the nadir. This we shall show in the course of our remarks.

Instead of sowing beside all waters, they merely traced the stream of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, which they found, in general, tolerably pure, while, if they deigned to cast a look at any other of the many rivulets which water the land, it was to pronounce them impure, or to throw across them a broken plank, that the next traveller might beware how he ventured upon it. Now we should have supposed that if they intended to give an impartial account of the sects of Christians in our country, they would have searched the records of their Churches, have associated with their leading ministers, and have opened an impartial and fraternal intercourse with them all. Did they do this ? If they did they have strangely falsified facts. If they did not, they have written in the dark, and hence may put in the plea of ignorance as an apology for their egregious mistakes. In either case they forfeit the public confidence. They cannot be relied on as vouchers. We are aware that this is saying much. But we shall sustain ourselves by unquestionable authority.

There is another capital fault running through these hastily compiled volumes ; it is the air of dogmatism and egotism so apparent in almost every page. Dr. Reed especially, who holds himself responsible for the

most of the second volume, assumes the air of an *ex-cathedra* teacher, never dreaming that he is a fallible mortal, but pronounces judgment upon every thing which comes under his notice, with all the confidence of plenary inspiration. Of his egotism, take his account of a camp meeting which he attended. Although as a descriptive piece merely, drawn up for the sake of dramatical effect, it shows the hand of a master, yet it is so manifest that he is the principal *personæ dramatis*, that it becomes absolutely disgusting to good taste. Till 'I,' Andrew Reed, 'arose in Israel,' all was wrong—the singing, the praying, exhortation, and preaching were wrong—but no sooner did I arise and preach, than the troubled elements were hushed, order arose out of confusion, and affectation gave place to sincerity. That the reader may judge for himself, we give him the account. It is as follows:—

'It was now the hour of morning worship. The pulpit was full; the seats were covered with waiting worshippers. I approached the stand; and was welcomed by the brethren. We rose and united in a hymn of praise. I had never, in such circumstances, joined in offering such worship. I could scarcely tell what sensations possessed me. I hope I was not void of those which are devotional, but I was chiefly filled for the moment with those of wonder. When I looked round on the scene which had broken so suddenly upon me, every thing was so novel, so striking, and so interesting, as to appear like the work of enchantment, and to require time fully to realize.

'But I must endeavor to give you some of the services in detail, as you will desire exact information. The singing to which I have referred, was followed by prayer and a sermon. The text was, "If God spared not his own Son," &c.—The preacher was a plain man, and without education; and he had small regard either to logic or grammar. He had, however, as is common to such persons, an aspiration after high-sounding terms and sentiments, which stood in strange opposition to the general poverty and incorrectness of his expressions. The proposition, for instance, raised on his text was this:—That the gift of Christ to sinners is the thing set forth with most life, animation, and eloquence, of any thing in the world. Such a proposition, though badly propounded, was of course above such a man; but though what he said did but little for his proposition, it was said with earnestness and pious feeling, and it told on the plain and serious portions of his audience. He was followed by a brother of higher qualifications, who took up the close of his subject, and addressed it to the conscience with skill and effect. The exhortation was terminated by an invitation to come and take a seat within the altar. These seats were, when wanted, in other words, the anxious seats; two of them were cleared, and a suitable hymn was sung, that persons might have time to comply. Very few came; chiefly a mother with her boy, who had previously seemed to court notice. The lad had indulged in noisy crying and exclamation; he was in the hand of an indiscreet parent, and had not been sufficiently discouraged by the ministers. The exhortations, and then the singing were renewed; but still with small effect, as to

the use of the prepared seats ; and so this service closed. Whatever may be the claims of the anxious seat, it was a hazardous experiment, where it was evident the previous services had produced no deep and controlling impression.

'The afternoon service was very similar in arrangement and in effect. The text was, "Let the wicked man forsake his way," &c. ; but the preacher certainly made a feeble use of a powerful passage. It was interrupted, too, by a noisy and intemperate man, who had found his way hither ; yet it was followed by exhortations superior to itself, and an urgent appeal to the people to come forward and separate themselves. The results were not better than before. The only apology for thus pressing under unfavorable circumstances was, that the meetings had been held now for three days ; that the solemn services of the Sabbath had just passed over the people ; and the worthy ministers were anxious for visible fruit, not only as arising from the present appeal, but from past impressions.

'These were the more public and regular services ; but other engagements were always fulfilling. The ministers were invited by their friends to the several tents, to exhort, and sing, and pray, so that when they ceased in one place, they were renewed in another. And at all times those who liked to gather within the altar, and sing, were allowed to do so ; and as, when they were weary, others came up and supplied their places, the singing was without ceasing.

'What you cannot escape wearies you. The services had been long, and not very interesting ; and still the singing was continued. After getting some refreshments with kind friends, I was glad to stroll away into the forest, and to ruminate on what I had seen and heard. Now that I had leisure to admire, it was a lovely evening. Through many a green alley I wandered ; and often did I stop and gaze on those exquisite combinations of light, shade, and picture, which forest scenery supplies on a fair summer evening. In all my wanderings, the singing followed me, and was a clew to my return ; but it now formed a pleasing accompaniment to my solitary walk, for it did not force itself on the ear, but rose and fell softly, sweetly, on the evening breeze.

'Soon, however, the hoarse notes of the horn vibrated through the air, and summoned me to return. It was the notice for worship at sundown ; and as there is little twilight here, the nightfall comes on suddenly. I hastened to obey the call, and took my place with the brethren on the preachers' stand. The day had now expired, and with it the scene was entirely changed, as if by magic, and it was certainly very impressive. On the stand were about a dozen ministers, and over their heads were suspended several three-pronged lamps, pouring down their radiance on their heads, and surrounding them with such lights and shadows as Rembrandt would love to copy. Behind the stand were clustered about 300 negroes, who, with their black faces and white dresses thrown into partial lights, were a striking object. Before us was a full-sized congregation collected, more or less revealed, as they happened to be near or distant from the points of illumination. Over the people were suspended from the trees a number of small lamps, which, in the distance, seemed like stars sparkling between their branches. Around the congregation, and within the line of the tents, were placed some elevated tripods, on which large fires of pine



wood were burning, cracking, blazing ; and shooting upward like sacrificial flames to heaven. They gave amazing power to the picture, by casting a flood of waving light on the objects near to them, and leaving every thing else in comparative obscurity. Still at greater distance might be seen, in several directions, the dull flickering flame of the now neglected domestic fire ; and the sparks emitted from it, together with the firefly, rose and shot across the scene like meteors, and then dropped into darkness. Never was darkness made more visible, more present. All the lights that were enkindled appeared only to have this effect ; as every where more was hidden than seen. If the eye sought for the tents, it was only here and there the dark face of one could be dimly seen ; the rest was wrapped in darkness ; and if it rose with the trees around you, the fine verdant and vaulted roof which they spread over you was mostly concealed by the mysterious and thickening shadows which dwelt there. Then, if you would pierce beyond these limits, there lay around you and over you, and over the unbounded forest that enclosed you, a world of darkness, to which your little illuminated spot was as nothing. I know of no circumstances having more power to strike the imagination and the heart.

‘But to the exercises. The singing, which had been sustained in all the interval by some younger persons, now showed its results. Two or three young women were fainting under the exhaustion and excitement ; and one, who was reported to me as a Methodist, was in hysterical ecstasy, raising her hands, rolling her eyes, and smiling and muttering. It appeared that she courted this sort of excitement as many do a dram, and was frequent at meetings of this character, for the sake of enjoying it.

‘However, after disposing of this slight interruption, the regular service began. It was to be composed of exhortation and prayer ; and it was excellently conducted. The leading ministers, who had been wearied by the claims of the Sabbath, had evidently reserved themselves for this period. The first address referred to the past ; the effort which had been made ; the results which ought to follow, but which had not followed, and which the speaker feared would not follow. It was closed by an affectionate expression of concern that they would now show that it had not been in vain. The next exhortation was on conversion. Some skilful and orthodox distinctions were established on the subject, as it involves the agency of the Spirit and the agency of man. It was discriminative, but it was plain and pungent ; and threw all the responsibility of perversity and refusal on the sinner. It made a strong impression.

‘The third exhortation was on indifference and despondency. The subject was well timed and well treated. The speaker combated these evils as likely to be a preventive in most persons in coming to a decision ; and he made a wise use of evangelical truth for this purpose. He supported the other addresses by an earnest appeal to separate themselves, and show that they were resolved to rank on the Lord's side. The people were evidently much more interested than they had been ; and the preachers were desirous of bringing them to an issue. Exhortation and singing were renewed ; and it was proposed that they should go down and pass among the people, for the purpose of conversing with them, and inducing them to come forward. By

these personal applications and persuasions, a considerable number were induced to come forward ; and fervent prayer of a suitable character was offered in their behalf.

‘It was already late, and here, at least, the service should have stopped. This was the opinion of the wiser and elder brethren, but they did not press it ; and those of weaker mind and stronger nerve thought that the work had only just begun. It was wished that I should retire, but I was desirous of witnessing the scene. Other exhortations and prayers, of a lower but more noisy character, were made, with endless singing ; favorite couplets would be taken up and repeated without end. The effect was various, but it was not good : some, with their feelings worn out, had passed the crisis, and it was in vain to seek to impress them : while others were unduly and unprofitably excited.

‘None discovered this more than the blacks. They separated themselves from the general service, and sought their own preacher and anxious seat. A stand was presently fixed between two trees ; a preacher was seen appearing and disappearing between them, as his violent gesticulation caused him to lean backwards or forwards. The blacks had now things to their mind, and they pressed round the speaker, on their feet or their knees, with extended hands, open lips, and glistening eyes ; while the strong lights of a tripod, close to which they had assembled, fell across the scene, and gave it great interest and power.

‘As the scenes on either side the stand were not dumb show, the evil was, that the voices of the parties speaking met each other, and made confusion ; and as either party raised his voice, to remedy the evil, it became worse. To myself, placed at the centre of observation, this had a neutralizing, and sometimes a humorous effect ; but to the two congregations, which were now reduced in numbers, it produced no distraction : they were severally engrossed, if not with their particular minister, with their particular feelings. It was now considerably past eleven o’clock ; I thought I had seen all the forms which the subject was likely to take ; and I determined to answer the request of my friends, and retire.

‘I had been assured that a bed was reserved for me at the preachers’ tent, and I now went in search of it. The tent is constructed like the rest, and is about eighteen feet by fourteen. As the ministers are expected to take their meals at the other tents, this is prepared as a lodging room. An inclined shelf, about six feet wide and four high, runs along the entire side of it, and it is supplied with six beds. I chose the one in the farther corner, in the hope of escaping interruption ; as the bed next to me was already occupied by a person asleep. I relieved myself of my upper garments, and laid myself down in my weariness to rest. The other beds soon got filled. But still the brethren were coming to seek accommodation. One of them crept up by the side of the person next to me ; and as the bed would only suit one, he really lay on the margin of his and mine. Thus discomposed, my resolution was immediately taken not to sleep at all. There was, however, no need of this proud resolution, for that night there was to be no sleep for me. There were still other parties to come, and beds to be provided. After this there was the singing renewed, and still

renewed, till youth and enthusiasm were faint and weary, and then it died away. Still there remained the barking of the watch-dogs, the sawing of the kat-e-dids and locusts, and the snoring of my more favored companions, and these were incessant. Sometimes I found diversion in listening to them, as they mingled in the ear, and in deciding which was most musical, most melancholy ; and frequently I turned away in weariness, and fixed my eye on the open crevices of the hut, looking for the first approach of day ; and, in my impatience, as often mistaking for it the gleaming lights of the pine fires.

‘ When the sun actually rose, the horn blew for prayers. To me, all restless as I had been, it was a joyful sound. I waited till others had dressed, that I might do so with greater quiet. I stole away into the forest, and was much refreshed by the morning breeze and fresh air. It was a very pleasing and unexpected sight to observe, as you wandered in supposed solitariness, here and there an individual half concealed, with raised countenance and hands, worshipping the God of heaven, and occasionally two or three assembled for the same purpose, and agreeing to ask the same blessings from the same Father. This was, indeed, to people the forest with sacred things and associations.

‘ On my return, the ministers renewed their kind application to me to preach on the morning of this day. I begged to be excused, as I had had no rest, and had taken cold, and was not prepared to commit myself to the peculiarities of their service, and which they might deem essential. They met again : and unanimously agreed to press it on me ; “ it should be the ordinary service, and nothing more ; and as an expectation had been created by my presence, many would come, under its influence, and it would place any other minister at great disadvantage.” My heart was with this people and the leading pastors, and I consented to preach.

‘ The usual prayer meeting was held at eight o’clock. It was conducted by Mr. Jeter. Prayers were offered for several classes, and with good effect. To me it was a happy introduction to the more public service to come. I wandered away again to my beloved forest, to preserve my impressions, and to collect my thoughts. At eleven o’clock the service began. I took my place on the stand : it was quite full. The seats, and all the avenues to them, were also quite full. Numbers were standing, and for the sake of being within hearing, were contented to stand. It was evident that rumor had gone abroad, and that an expectation had been created, that a stranger would preach this morning, for there was a great influx of people, and of the most respectable class which this country furnishes. There were not less than 1,500 persons assembled. Mr. Taylor offered fervent and suitable prayer. It remained for me to preach. I can only say that I did so with earnestness and freedom. I soon felt that I had the attention and confidence of the congregation, and this gave me confidence. I took care, in passing, as my subject allowed, to withdraw my sanction from any thing noisy and exclamatory ; and there was, through the discourse, nothing of the kind ; but there was a growing attention and stillness over the people. The closing statements and appeals were evidently falling on the conscience and heart with still advancing power. The people generally leaned forward, to catch what was said. Many rose from their seats ; and many, stirred with grief, sunk down,



as if to hide themselves from observation ; but all was perfectly still. Silently the tear fell ; and silently the sinner shuddered. I ceased. Nobody moved. I looked round to the ministers for some one to give out a hymn. No one looked at me—no one moved. Every moment the silence, the stillness, became more solemn and overpowering. Now, here and there, might be heard suppressed sobbing arising on the silence. But it could be suppressed no longer—the fountains of feeling were burst open, and one universal wail sprung from the people and ministers, while the whole mass sunk down on their knees, as if imploring some one to pray. I stood resting on the desk, overwhelmed like the people. The presiding pastor arose, and, throwing his arms around my neck, exclaimed, "Pray, brother, pray ! I fear many of *my* charge will be found at the left hand of the Judge ! O, pray, brother, pray for us !" and then he cast himself on the floor with his brethren, to join in the prayer. But I could not pray ! I must have been more or less than man to have uttered prayer at that moment ! Nor was it necessary. All, in that hour, were intercessors with God, with tears and cries, and groans unutterable.

' So soon as I could command my state of feeling, I tried to offer prayer. My broken voice rose gradually on the troubled cries of the people, and gradually they subsided, so that they could hear and concur in the common supplications. It ceased, and the people rose. We seemed a changed people to each other. No one appeared disposed to move from the spot, and yet no one seemed disposed for ordinary exercises. Elder Taylor moved forward and remarked—"That it was evident nothing but prayer suited them at this time. And as so many had been impressed by the truth, who had not before, he wished, if they were willing, to bring it to the test of prayer." He therefore proposed that if such persons wished to acknowledge the impression received, and to join in prayer for their personal salvation, they should show it by kneeling down, and he would pray with them. In an instant, as if instinct with one spirit, the whole congregation sunk down to the ground. It is much, but not too much, to say, that the prayer met the occasion. When the people again rose, one of the brethren was about to address them ; but I thought nothing could be so salutary to them as their own reflections and prayers, and I ventured to request that he would dismiss the meeting.

' Thus closed the most remarkable service I have ever witnessed. It has been my privilege to see more of the solemn and powerful effect of Divine truth on large bodies of people than many ; but I never saw any thing equal to this ; so deep, so overpowering, so universal. And this extraordinary effect was produced by the Divine blessing on the ordinary means ; for none other were used, and one third of the people had been present at none other. I shall never forget that time—that place ; and as often as I recur to it, the tear is still ready to start from its retirement.

' The immediate effect was as good as it was conspicuous. At first there was such tenderness on the people that they looked silently on each other, and could hardly do it without weeping ; and afterward, when they had obtained more self possession, there was such meekness, such gentleness, such humility, such kindness, such a desire to serve one another by love, and such calm and holy joy sitting on their

countenances, as I had never seen in one place, and by so many persons. It realized more than any thing I had known, the historical description of the primitive saints; and there was much in the present circumstances which assisted the impression. It was indeed beautifully true—"that fear came on every soul; and all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they continued with one accord, breaking bread from house to house; and did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God!"

'Besides this happy effect on those who had already believed, there were many in an awakened and inquiring state which demanded attention. Among them was a representative of the state government, who acknowledged that he had always resisted the truth till then, but hoped it had overcome him at last. Some of these cases, of course, came under my own knowledge; and all the ministers showed them, as, indeed, they had uniformly done, great attention and solicitude.\*

We alluded to the want of candor in these reverend gentlemen in respect to other denominations of Christians. As a sample take the following account of his visit to Morristown, in the state of New-Jersey; and the reader will better appreciate the *kindness* of his misrepresentations, when he is informed that Mr. Cooke, the gentleman mentioned by Dr. Reed, whose hospitalities he enjoyed while in that town, was himself a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

'In the evening I went with Mr. Cooke and my friend to the Episcopal Methodist Church. It is not large, and has been recently built. The men occupied one side of the place, and the women the other; an unsocial plan, and more likely to suggest evil than to prevent it. We were there before the service commenced. The silence was interrupted disagreeably, by continued spitting, which fell, to a strange ear, like the drippings from the eaves on a rainy day. They have the custom of turning their back to the minister in singing, that they may face the singers; and they have also the practice, to a great extent, of inter-

\* That we are not alone in our censures upon the authors of this work, and particularly in reference to this account of the camp meeting, may be seen by the following extract from the Religious Herald, a Baptist paper, published in Richmond, Va. He says,—

'Our correspondent, Omega, is not the only one who has complained of the description given by Dr. Reed in his narrative of the camp meeting in the Northern Neck, Virginia. Several of our readers, present at this meeting, have informed us that they considered the narrative defective in many respects, and illiberal in others, more especially in reference to the sermon delivered by Elder Claybrook.

'We did not consider the description as a faultless production. We suspected that the sermon alluded to was not so defective as the writer alleged, for we were confident that the brethren who had the management of the meeting had too much discretion to place an individual so incompetent, according to the representation of Dr. R., in such a prominent post. We could not also overlook the obvious display which the Dr. has made of his own services on this occasion, and of the estimation in which they were held by his hearers. Yet notwithstanding these and other defects, such as the reference to minute and uninteresting particulars, we were of opinion that the description would be interesting to many of our readers. We were also solicited by some of them to give it an insertion in the Herald.'

lining the prayer with exclamations and prayers of their own. Such as these, for instance, were common :—Amen—Do so, Lord—Lord, thou knowest—Let it be so, Lord—Yes, yes, Lord—Come, come, Lord, &c. You will recognize in this only what you have witnessed at home.

‘ Their minister came out from Ireland. He is an intelligent, humble, pious man ; and preached a sound and useful sermon. But he has no management of his voice ; it was at one elevation, and that the highest, throughout. By this means he lost the power to impress ; and threatens, I fear, to wear himself out with vociferation. The ministers in this connection, I found, are allowed to settle. He is just settled ; he has a wife and three children, and has 500 dollars a year.’

The rebuke here given for spitting upon the floor of the meeting house, if true and not exaggerated, is well merited, and should serve as an admonition to all pious worshippers to avoid, as much as possible, the disgusting practice. The bespattering, and even staining the floors of churches, by the saliva of tobacco chewers, which is sometimes emitted in no stinted measure in time of Divine worship, is a practice so loathsomely indecent and detestable, that we should rejoice to witness its speedy banishment from the house of God, as also from the saloons of more private houses. But did these reverend travellers witness no where else but in a Methodist house, this reprehensible practice ? Are there no other people in the United States who ‘ spit,’ and no other religious people who amuse themselves with masticating and smoking this narcotic weed ? These gentlemen might have recollected that calling for wine at taverns, which it seems they sometimes did, is quite as reprehensible, in the estimation of a thorough-going temperance American, as chewing the quid and smoking the segar are to the delicate nerves of an English tourist. When, however, tobacco shall cease to become an article of trade in England, and wine and brandy in America, we may be exempted from reproaching each other for practices in which we both indulge, to the no small annoyance of well-bred gentlemen and decent Christians.

But that to which we more particularly object in the above account is this :—‘ The ministers in this connection, I found, are allowed to settle.’ Where did *he find* this ? In his own brain only, as every one must know who has the slightest acquaintance with our economy. The expression ‘ I found,’ seems to imply that he *sought* for correct information, and hence it amounts to an intentional misstatement. There is another thing in this extract which presents an invidious aspect. This is the only place that we have noticed where he has mentioned the amount of *salary* which ministers receive, as though it was a strange thing for a minister, and especially for a Methodist minister, to receive a salary from the people. Whether he has here stated the amount correctly or not, we do not know, nor do we care to know, as it is a



matter of no consequence ; but we are certain that the mere statement of the fact by this writer, considering the many inaccuracies he has published with the means of correct information within his reach, entitles him to little credit, and hence, allowing it to be false, is no slander. But why did not this tourist, who was charged by those under whose sanction he came to our country to make a true report, also state the amount of salary received by ministers of his own denomination? We might then have heard of their receiving from \$500 to \$3,500 a year. But this would not have answered his purpose. For he seems to have had in his eye continually the exaltation of his own order, at the expense of all others—while the Methodists, whenever mentioned at all, are held up as objects of ridicule.

While reading the above paragraph, we were reminded of the old proverb, ' Evil to him who evil thinks.' The ' unsocial plan,' of men and women sitting apart, ' is more likely to suggest evil than prevent it.' Could not this chaste minister of Jesus Christ think of no other reason, but to prevent impure desires, for seating the men and women separately in our churches? Did he not know, or might he not have informed himself that this separation of the sexes in our houses of worship, arises almost necessarily from the free-seat system? In those churches where the slips are rented, families sit together as in all other churches without the slightest inconvenience or objection.

But our author visited Baltimore—and being much pleased with the city and its inhabitants, he was led, it seems, to rank it among the *second* cities in the union, instead of the *third* or *fourth*. Perhaps as he reports that there is but one Baptist, and that one a *Christian Baptist* church, in Philadelphia, he persuaded himself that it is but a ' very little city.' But these mistakes are mere trifles, in comparison to some others he has made. If the ten or eleven Baptist Churches in Philadelphia were treated with the same scurrilous contempt with which he has treated the Methodists in Baltimore, they might feel but little gratitude for his notice of them. Only read the following, which is given as a sample of Methodism in the city of Baltimore!

' When returning from an excursion in the town and some needful calls, I found a church open and lighted. I desired to close the day in a quiet act of worship, and went in. My wishes were but poorly gratified ; but the service was somewhat remarkable, and even more amusing than I desired. It was a Methodist Church, of full size and commodious. There were not one hundred persons present ; and the preacher, in both exercises, was feeble and noisy, with good intentions. I was surprised to find more of the peculiarities of this people here, in the Monumental City, than are sometimes to be found in a sequestered village. There were not only interruptions and exclamations in prayer, but in singing and in the sermon also. With many, it was a sort of chorus taken together ; but there was one reverend old man, certainly a leader among them, who spurned association, and

literally kept up a sort of recitative with the preacher. The following is an instance, which I could not help preserving that night.

Having passed through the explanatory portion of his discourse, the preacher paused, and then said,—

*Preacher.* "The duty here inferred is, to deny ourselves."

*Elder.* "God, enable us to do it!"

*Preacher.* "It supposes that the carnal mind is enmity against God."

*Elder.* "Ah, indeed, Lord it is!"

*Preacher.* "The very reverse of what God would have us be!"

*Elder.* "God Almighty knows it's true!"

*Preacher.* "How necessary, then, that God should call on us to renounce every thing!"

*Elder.* "God, help us!"

*Preacher.* "Is it necessary for me to say more?"

*Elder.* "No; O no!"

*Preacher.* "Have I not said enough?"

*Elder.* "O yes—quite enough!"

*Preacher.* "I rejoice that God calls me to give up every thing!"

*Elder* (clasping his hands.) "Yes, Lord, I would let it all go!"

*Preacher.* "You *must* give up all!"

*Elder.* "Yes—all!"

*Preacher.* "Your pride!"

*Elder.* "My pride!"

*Preacher.* "Your envy!"

*Elder.* "My envy!"

*Preacher.* "Your covetousness!"

*Elder.* "My covetousness!"

*Preacher.* "Your anger!"

*Elder.* "Yes; my anger!"

*Preacher.* "Sinner, how awful, then, is your condition!"

*Elder.* "How awful!"

*Preacher.* "What reason for all to examine themselves!"

*Elder.* "Lord, help us to search our hearts!"

*Preacher.* "Could you have more motives?—I have done!"

*Elder.* "Thank God! Thank God for his holy word. Amen!"

Now we have been acquainted with the Methodists for about thirty-five years, and we must confess that we never witnessed such a scene as this. We have, to be sure, heard noises and expressions that were highly censurable, but such a representation, so perfectly ridiculous in all its bearings, we never before read of, much less witnessed. While we contend that regular responses to petitions in prayer are both Scriptural and praiseworthy, we should deprecate the day when such jargon as the above should be sanctioned in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Reed has several other characteristic notices of Methodist worship, all in perfect keeping with these, and they stamp upon his character that of a bigoted sectarist, an unfair reporter of facts, and a slanderer of his neighbors. These hard epithets would not be applied to him, had there been any redeeming quality found in any portion of his

book in regard to our Church, other than the nauseating slang of his prototypes in this work of caricature, which simply allows that we may be good *intentioned* in the midst of our *ignorance* and *fanaticism*. But even this seems to be wrung from him with such apparent reluctance, that we receive it merely as a lame apology for his wilful abuse.

That there may be defects among us in regard to the manner of conducting public worship, we readily grant, and we should not have been displeased with our author for detecting and exposing them, had his exposure been accompanied with an acknowledgment of those good things which all but the merest bigots allow may be found. That there are preachers and people among us who may be tainted with enthusiasm, and hence may at times exhibit those weaknesses which arise from ignorance and a heated imagination, we are not disposed at all to question; but if Dr. Reed had sought for them, we do not doubt but that he might also have found some 'masters in Israel,' with whom he might have been edified, and whose characters for eminent literary, scientific, and spiritual attainments, would not suffer by a comparison with his own. Had he informed his readers of these facts, while he was recording those instances of human weakness, or of pious incoherences, our remarks upon his performances would have partaken of less severity.

We need hardly say to those who are acquainted with our churches in the city of Baltimore, that they are among the largest and most respectable in the city; and that the ministers who generally fill the pulpit, as well as the people who occupy the seats, are not behind their neighbors for intelligence and piety; and that it is very seldom that there are not over one hundred people attending upon public worship, in one of their large churches. Dr. Reed has been careful not to tell his readers in what street this church, into which he casually entered, is situated; but from his description we presume it must have been an African congregation; and as, from his peculiar sympathies for these people, he doubtless found it more congenial to his own feelings and views to associate with them; and more especially as it might afford him a better opportunity to gratify his spleen against Methodism, he preferred them, on this occasion, to a white congregation, which might have afforded him a more Scriptural and rational sample of Divine worship.

But though we may have dwelt long enough upon the glaring defects of this deputation to the American Churches, yet we cannot forbear noticing some other instances of its obliquities. Bringing with them their prejudices against Episcopalians in their own country, and associating chiefly with their own denomination in this, whenever they speak of others they betray a narrow-minded bigotry utterly unbecoming Christian philanthropists, and impartial observers, and reporters of



facts and circumstances. Hence the Protestant Episcopalians fare but little better in their hands than do we. Indeed, a writer in the Protestant Episcopalian is so dissatisfied with their treatment of his Church, that he remarks that their account of it is so meagre and mean as to be beneath his notice, or unworthy of a public exposure. And perhaps self respect might have led us to treat them with a similar contempt, had we not thought that our entire silence would have been construed into an acquiescence in the justness of their remarks.

As an evidence of this, we give one more extract, in which the reader will perceive that though there is some credit given for our 'zeal in carrying the means of instruction and worship to the most neglected and scattered portions of these regions,' yet there is so much of sneering at our method of doing business, and one such glaring misstatement as to spoil the whole. The passage follows :—

'The Methodists are quite as numerous, and are more efficient. They show a less amount of ministers, but a much larger one of communicants ; the one being 2,223, and the other 619,771. Like the Baptists, they have a large proportion of slaves in their communion ; and, like them, they are beginning to take decided measures to secure an educated ministry. They are, in fact, exceedingly like their kindred body in our own country, both in their virtues and failings. There is a considerable measure of ignorance and extravagance in that as there is in this ; and they are certainly quite as sectarian. They have their own papers, their own books, their own tracts, their own psalmody, and, I believe I may say, are about to have their own version of the Bible. They depend here, as every where, rather on their method than the talent of their ministry, or the peculiarities of their faith ; and this method has wonderful compactness and adaptation to its ends. They are a hive of bees, in which each one has his place, and each one his work to do ; and where each, by the movement of all, is constrained to fulfil it ; and thus the whole duty of the busy and happy community is completed. The perfect order and unity which reigns at home, prevents the loss of energy by domestic bickerings ; and allows them to seek and cull their treasures from the wild and waste world around them. Whatever may have been their failings, they have done more, both in America and Canada, than any other body of Christians, to carry the means of instruction and worship to the most neglected and scattered portions of these regions, and have been most successful in their efforts of Christian philanthropy.'

In the first place, we would ask where this reverend gentleman learned to *believe* that we were 'about to have our own version of the Bible?' The man that will write and publish such a manifest *falsehood*, with the means within his reach of correct information, surely forfeits all title to public confidence. But we 'have our papers, books, and psalmody.' And are we *singular* in this? Have not the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Protestant Episcopalians, 'their own books, their own tracts, and their own psalmody?' And are we

to be proscribed the rights which all others enjoy? Or to be censured and sneered at for availing ourselves of these rights? But we have the same 'virtues and failings' with our brethren in England. And are we *singular* in this? Or are all other denominations become so *perfect*, that they are exempt from *failings*? We believe, whatever failings we may exhibit, that we have not been guilty of drawing such contemptible caricatures, and uttering such palpable untruths of others which this tourist has respecting us. And this 'new version of the Bible,' a thing never once thought of by a single member of our communion, caps the climax of absurdity and evil surmising.

Another instance of his extreme partiality, is to be found in his account of the Bible, Missionary, Tract, and Education Societies. He is evidently enumerating these societies for the purpose of showing the salutary influence which they exert upon the American character. But from the account given of these institutions, the reader, who is a stranger to our country, would assuredly infer that there were no other missionary, tract, and Sunday school societies, than those connected with the Presbyterian and Congregational Church, there being not the slightest allusion to the missionary societies of the Protestant Episcopal, Baptist, and Methodist Churches, or to their exertions in the tract and Sunday school cause. Had these gentlemen also imbibed the notion that all the institutions under the patronage of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches were of a *national* character, and consequently that all denominations were absorbed in them? As we have already remarked, had they professedly restricted their report of the state of things to their own order, we should have no right to complain: but as they profess to give an account of the religious state of the *country*, instead merely of a *sect*, they should, it appears to us, have included the religious and charitable institutions of all denominations.

These are lamentable evidences of the power of prejudice, and of sectarian partiality over the human mind. And though we have tried to find an apology for such manifest departures from that impartial regard for truth which ought to characterize all such public documents; we find it extremely difficult to reconcile them to either honesty of intention, liberality of sentiment, or that accurate knowledge which should have guided them in recording facts. These things prevent our receiving even the praises of these gentlemen, with that cordiality with which we otherwise should. They seem to come rather as a reluctant homage to truth, than as a willing compliment to excellencies which do really exist. As an illustration of this, let us glance at Dr. Reed's account of his visit to the American congress. After some cold praise on a few of the distinguished men who composed the senate at that time, we have the following remarks, as complacent to his own supe-

rior intelligence as they are detracting from the American legislature:—

‘On the whole, I was much gratified in becoming acquainted with the congress of this great empire. Yet I must candidly admit, that it fell somewhat below my expectations. In its presence I was not impressed, as I think I should have been in the presence of the men who signed the declaration; and my eye wandered over the assembly, anxiously seeking another Washington, who, by his moral worth, mental sagacity, and unquestionable patriotism, should, in a second crisis, become the confidence and salvation of his country; but it wandered in vain. Such a one might have been there; the occasion might bring out many such; but I failed to receive such an impression. Nor do I think, on the whole, that the representation is worthy of the people. It has less of a religious character than you would expect from so religious a people; and it has also less of an independent character than should belong to so thriving a people. But as matters stand, it is now only a sacrifice for the thriving man to be a member of congress; while, to the needy man, it is a strong temptation. In this state of things, it is not wonderful that the less worthy person should labor hard to gain an election; or that, when it is gained, he should consider his own interests rather than those of his constituents. The good Americans must look to this, and not suffer themselves to be absorbed in the farm and merchandise; lest, on an emergency, they should be surprised to find their fine country, and all its fine prospects, in the hands of a few ambitious and ill-principled demagogues.’

Mark how his philosophical ‘eye wandered over the assembly, anxiously seeking another Washington—but it wandered in vain.’ And suppose there had been a half dozen personages in that assembly, equal to Washington in intelligence and patriotism, is it certain that this jaundiced eye would have detected them? Did he not know that it requires a genius to measure a genius? And though we do not wish to underrate the intellectual acuteness of Dr. Reed, yet we doubt not but there were many sages, in that august assembly, whose mental calibre was far beyond the reach of his ken. But what is amusing is that among them all there was not one who gave any evidence of a ‘truly Christian character,’ except Mr. Frelinghuysen. It is well that there happened to be *one Presbyterian* within the halls of the American legislature, else they might all have been set down for reprobates.

It is true that Dr. Reed pays a merited homage to the virtues, patriotism, and intelligence of Washington. This, however, he could do without a single effort. The man who, by the wisdom of his conduct, his courage in arms, and fidelity to his country, has extorted the praise of all nations, needed not to have his eulogium pronounced at this late period in these volumes to make his fame the more enduring. And to unite in the general voice of approbation, only shows a willingness to



imitate the ejaculations of others, without evincing any superior discernment to discover excellencies. But if Washington had been then living, and exhibiting, in real life, those virtuous dispositions and that patriotic conduct, by which he was so eminently distinguished, we very much doubt, from the brief and censorious notices which are taken by our author of our anniversary celebrations, whether his notes of disapprobation would not have been as profuse, as his praises are now liberal and just. In that case, we doubt not but his eye would have wandered over the American camp in vain for the hero whose head he is now willing to crown with laurels—and, more especially, if Washington's heart had been tinctured with any thing like Methodism, or it had been whispered in the ear of the tourist that he was partial to the established Church of England.

We have already remarked that the volumes before us afford internal evidence that these gentlemen associated chiefly with their own denomination, and hence that their personal observations were restricted principally to men of kindred spirits with themselves. Nor do we blame them for this. It was, indeed, to be expected, as they were commissioned especially as messengers to the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, that they should devote their attention and labors chiefly to them; but we had a right to expect, at the same time, that if they found it their duty to speak of others at all, they should observe that urbanity of manners, and strict regard to truth which become Christian gentlemen, and not by selecting a few insulated facts of an exceptionable character, hold them up to the contempt of the public. Let a man travel through the country, and select isolated facts respecting any denomination of Christians, of a heretical or unchristian character, and charge these upon the whole sect, and he would, by these reprehensible means, easily render them odious.

But we would not be guilty of the very evil we condemn. We will not, therefore, condemn all that we find in these books because there are so many exceptionable things. When freed from sectarian jealousy, and speaking merely as citizens, there is more appearance of truth and candor, unless, indeed, we may suppose that in the remarks they make upon the American character, their application is to be restricted to the Churches of their partial fondness. However, that our readers may see for themselves what estimate these strangers have made of our general character, we present them with the following extract:—

‘It is now time that I brought both my narrative and disquisitions to a close. The field, however, is so extensive, and so interesting, that only to glance at the various objects within the scope of this communication, and which demand observation, requires considerable space.

‘Although I have endeavored to convey my honest and first impres-

sions, as I have passed onward, you may desire that I should yet express the general amount of these impressions, on a review of the entire subject of remark. This is certainly what I should like in my own case ; and, expecting that you will make reasonable allowances for the delicacy and difficulty of reducing so many subjects, and such multifarious impressions, to a common conclusion, I will not hesitate to meet your wishes. I shall have the more readiness in attempting this, because if that conclusion should need to be qualified in any degree, the previous statements will, I trust, amply supply you with the means of independent judgment and salutary correction.

‘ The impression, then, left on my own mind, as the result of combined observation, is that of satisfaction and hope. When I say this, however, you must bear in remembrance what was the state of mind with which I went out to this country. My expectations were certainly not so high as many might entertain ; they were certainly not so low as those of many ; they were, I think, moderate ; and *they have been exceeded*. Allowing, as I did, for the difficulties of a newly-settled country, and for the disadvantages of emigration, the state of education, morals, and religion, was decidedly better than I expected to find it. Indeed, I have never visited a country in which I have seen them equalled. England herself painfully suffers in the comparison.

‘ There are, undoubtedly, some points in politics, in science, and in domestic life, in which the advantage may still be with the parent country ; but on the subjects in question, and which are legitimate to this inquiry, the advantage is with America. Education with us may, in certain cases, be more refined and recondite ; but it is not spread over so large a surface, and is less in the sum total ; and if, as Johnson says, the state of common life is the true state of a nation, the nation must be considered to be better educated.

‘ In morals, too, you are constrained to receive the same impression. It is impossible to compare New-York with Liverpool, or Boston with Bristol, and not to be struck with the difference. It was Sabbath evening when I landed at Liverpool, but I was grieved to admit that at no time, in New-York, had open vice met my eye with such prominence, and to such a degree.

‘ I know it has been said, as against the higher morality of this people, that their merchants are less honorable than ours. I have given some attention to this, as it is certainly an important allegation ; and as I had found reason partly to give it my acquiescence. I suppose it will be easily admitted that no mercantile interests were ever more honorably conducted than are those of Great Britain. But honor is conventional, and of slow growth ; and when matured it has a tendency to self-preservation ; so that a person finds with us that he can scarcely be a merchant without being a man of honor.

‘ To try the American merchant by such a test, may be sufficiently severe ; yet he need not shrink from it. He is certainly less influenced by what is conventional ; but he is, at least, equally affected by what is properly moral. I have every reason to think that the regular and accredited merchant of the states is as upright in his transactions, as steady to his contracts, and is governed by as high a sense of justice, as are the merchants of the old world. Still I am willing to admit, so far as it regards the New-England character, that,

with all its excellencies, it is liable to temptation here. It participates, in some particulars, with the Scotch character, and, like it, may require watchfulness. Those who pride themselves in their shrewdness in driving a "keen bargain," are commonly in danger of being "over keen."

' Apart from this, it is allowed that there is some cause for such an impression being hastily received in London; and it arises from the circumstances of the people. The fact is, that one half the men in Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, who announce themselves as merchants, are not known as such to the accredited merchants of those places. They are mostly men of desperate fortune, who have fled from their creditors in Europe, and are seeking to establish themselves where they are not known. Frequently they succeed: and in shaking off some of their necessities, free themselves from some of their vices; but surely it is not to be expected that they should be governed by any fine sense of honor. More commonly their bad propensities remain; and they play the rogue with more freedom, because they can do it on a larger field, and with greater safety and advantage. The very honor and integrity of which we are speaking, require that such distinctions should be allowed and appreciated.

' Then the appearances in favor of religion are to their advantage. They have no law for the regulation or observance of the Sabbath, but public sentiment secures its sanctification better with them than with us. I have never seen that day observed in Bristol or Bath as it is in Boston and Philadelphia. In the large town the people attend in larger numbers at their respective places of worship; there are more places for their accommodation; and the average size is greater with them than with us. The communicants in that country are far more numerous than in this; and you will regard this as important evidence on the subject, especially when it is known that the principle of strict communion prevails. The ministry, as a whole, is better adapted to the people and to usefulness. The spirit of regeneration animates it; and evangelical truth is more familiar to it. It is neither so rich nor so poor as with us, and is therefore more efficient. One portion of it is not degraded by the political elevation of other portions; but, as a body, it is entitled to common and equal respect, and it has decidedly more respect, and, therefore, more influence than with us.

' With these visible signs in favor of religion, and with the knowledge that the Americans have far less reason to preserve appearances than ourselves, it is impossible not to arrive at the conclusion already suggested.

' These statements are to be understood to have a special, though not an exclusive application to the leading states, which have been longest settled, and are the most populous. It would be most unreasonable to expect that the states in the far west and far south should equal them in privilege and attainment. They are rather, as a candid Episcopalian writer has allowed, to be compared with our colonies than with ourselves. Let me add, however, that we have no colonies that would not suffer by the comparison; and that their average means, as I have shown, will actually bear to be tried by what we most admire at home.

' Still it is admitted that much remains to be done. All the states



are capable of great improvement ; and the rapid settlement taking place every where, seems to mock all past effort, and to demand that it shall be put forth on a continually-expanded scale, even to exhaustion. The west, especially, has almost overwhelming claims. If this empire shall retain its integrity, the west promises to become the seat of power ; and whatever it ultimately becomes, the whole country will be. Every eye is fixed on it. The worldling looks to it as his paradise ; the papist looks to it as to another centre, where he may again elevate the crucifix, and assert the claims of St. Peter ; and the infidel looks to it as a refuge where he may shake off the trammels of religion, and be at peace.

‘ Do I then regard these circumstances with apprehension ? No ; I look on them with hope—I regard the entire exigencies of this great country with the assurance of hope. If there was a time for apprehension, that time is now past. Had the Church remained as dormant and secure as she was even ten years ago, there might have been cause for alarm ; but she is awake, and the people are awake. The Home Mission, the Education, and the Sunday School Societies which have risen to such mighty and rapid action, are directing chiefly their energies to the west. Missionaries in the cause of religion and education are traversing all its regions ; schools, and even colleges, are springing up amidst the stumps of the smouldering forest. The wants and claims of the west are made to ring and reverberate over the east, and the north, and the south ; and the common attention is not summoned in vain.

‘ Then it is not merely that public attention is awakened to these growing exigencies ; the people in the more settled states are strikingly prepared to benefit those that are settling. They are so by circumstances, and they are so by character. The circumstances of the New-England people, for instance, remarkably dispose and fit them to aid the west. Their soil is comparatively sterile and ungrateful, and this inclines them to emigrate. They carry with them the very institutions which are wanted by the west ; they are never contented with a settlement till it has its school and its church ; and their force of character—their thrift, their energy, and their morals—gives them a controlling influence by which society around them is modelled. The hand of Providence seems conspicuous in this provision, and in making it so effectual. In the whole, about twenty-one thousand persons were delivered from the mother country on these shores ; their offspring are now spread over all the states, and amount to upward of three millions of persons !

‘ Not less does their character inspire hope. So far as it affects this subject, it may be said that they have remarkable versatility in adapting themselves to the occasion, and great earnestness in moving to their object. Their *versatility* and tact may possibly be greatly fostered by their circumstances—this is not material to a question purely practical : that it exists is without doubt. The difficulty which would be felt with us, of passing from an occupation which we had learned, to one of which we were ignorant, is scarcely felt with them. They may not be over careful in selecting means, nor over steady in the use of them ; but they certainly have a degree of French facility in falling on them, and in accommodating themselves to them. Many

find no difficulty in becoming students at forty, if they should have been denied the opportunity before ; and it is a common thing for those who do not succeed to their wishes in one avocation to apply to another, though years should be the price of acquisition. Forms in society, as well as personal habits, are far less fixed here ; and where there is so much freedom to move, you may expect it to abound and vary in proportion. I knew of a gentleman who had been trained to mercantile pursuits ; as a Christian, he thought he could be more useful by preaching ; he renounced, therefore, his profitable merchandise, to employ himself in public teaching. After some pains and lengthened trial, he had reason to think he had miscalculated on his talent. Having made the experiment, he again became a merchant ; remarking that, as by merchandise he could afford to sustain five preachers better than himself, there could be no doubt that, as a merchant, he might best promote the cause of religion. He felt no difficulty in these transitions ; and if he did not display the clearest judgment, he showed that he had no double or dubious motive.

‘ It must be evident to a practised judgment that this aptitude to become all things to all men and all occasions, is a valuable qualification for real usefulness, in a country where the form and fashion of things are continually varying under the influence of increasing civilization and refinement. The free institutions of the people possess just the same pliancy. The *principle of adaptation*, the want of which, a high authority has lately admitted to be the great defect of an establishment, is certainly the life and virtue of the voluntary system.— Whatever may otherwise be its character, its adversaries cannot disallow the inherent power of adaptation ; and if they did, America would confound them. The school house and the church are seen to accommodate themselves precisely to the state of the people, never behind them, never too much in advance. Their very form and structure pass through the gradations of wood, brick, and stone, as do the residences of the people ; and their lessons are dispensed by “ line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little, and there much,” as they can bear them.

‘ Especially, the Americans have great *earnestness* of character ; and as this is essential to all true greatness, so it is the very quality to inspire hope. I think I have never seen more of it in any people. It may not always express itself as you would desire ; but its very presence and name is power. Their character, like their climate, has great decision about it ; it may be hot, it may be cold ; but when it is cold it freezes, and when it is hot it burns. Only let them fully apprehend the importance of an object ; and you will see them move to it with a directness of mind and a scorn of sacrifices, which would surprise weaker natures.

‘ When this is associated with Christian principle it confers a striking power of self-devotion. Endless instances illustrate and confirm this. It is this quality, thus sanctified, that gives to their missionary his highest praise. It is this, through the form of the temperance societies, that has astonished the world with the noble example of a nation renovating itself. In smaller circles the principle is perpetually at work with equal power, though with less observation. I have been charmed and refreshed with it every where. It inspires private Christians to revolve

great things, and to compass them by great means. I know of no country where there are more examples of beneficence and magnificence. The rich will act nobly out of their abundance ; and the poor will act as nobly out of their penury. There are refreshing instances of individuals sustaining schools, professorships, missionaries, and evangelists. Ministers are repeatedly making movements in which it was evident that every thing was to be sacrificed for usefulness. I have seen the pastor, at sixty, beloved and happy in his people, give up all, and go forth into the wilderness, because he thought that his example, more than his labors, might bless the west ; while the Church has been as ready to relinquish him, though with tears, when she has been satisfied that it was for the good of the Church catholic. I have seen a band of students, careless of ease and reputation at home, forsake the college which they have passed with honor, and covenant together to go forth some two thousand miles, to rear a kindred institution in the desert ; and I have seen the aged man kindle at their enthusiasm, and support them with his purse, when unable to be their companion. Does a neighborhood rapidly outrun the existing means of religious instruction ? it immediately creates effort ; and individuals in different Churches volunteer to give up their endeared privileges, and to go forth, as a little colony, to benefit that district.

• Woman, too, has at least an equal spirit of self-devotion here. I have never been more impressed with this. The females move less out of their own sphere than most ; but in that sphere they are employing a thousand womanly appliances in favor of the good cause. They have a loftiness of character about them which requires that they should have some great object before them ; and none know better than they, how truly little means are sanctified and ennobled by great ends. They band together for all sorts of benevolent and religious uses. The maternal societies are their own, and are at once a testimony to their well-regulated as well as exalted feeling ; the mother is not forgotten in the Christian, nor home in the world. They work, or collect in company, for the support of a student or missionary ; they prepare linen and other garments for the poor scholar ; and all their deeds are anointed by their prayers. We have seen the spirit of piety kept alive in a Church, the Old South, through a long period of darkness and heresy, by the prayers of a few females. The Foreign Missionary Society is considered to have its origin in the prayers and exhortations of one sainted woman. I have known of three excellent matrons who, when a Church was afflicted by a worldly ministry, devoted themselves to secret prayer for its and the Church's renovation, and who have lived to offer praise for an answer to prayer, of which none knew but themselves.

• Who shall doubt of such a people ? They are full of hope themselves, and they create hope in others. Every thing about them contributes to nourish it. They are born into national existence in the most auspicious times. All the lessons of wisdom which have been suggested through ages to other nations are at their command. They begin their course just where other empires have closed theirs. Their field of action is so vast that they may put forth the mightiest energies, without exposure to hostile interests and barbarous warfare. They need fear no foe, and therefore they need not embarrass themselves



with alliances which might lead to conflict and bloodshed. They have the fairest opportunity of showing how little a government may be felt as a burden, and how much as a blessing, silently diffusing life, liberty, and joy over an immense community. The people are aware of this, and are ennobled by their circumstances. They believe all things, and they will accomplish all things.

'Yes, they will accomplish all things, with the single provision, that *they remain under the influence of religion*. Religion is requisite to the welfare of any people; but they have made it emphatically necessary, not only to their prosperity, but to their political existence. The evils to which their promising circumstances chiefly expose them, are worldliness and presumption; and these can be quelled only by religion. No approaches to the experiment they are now making on the liberty of the subject, have been made with success; and they can only succeed by making religion their best ally. Universal suffrage, whatever may be its abstract merits or demerits, is neither desirable nor possible, except the people are the subjects of universal education and universal piety. AMERICA WILL BE GREAT IF AMERICA IS GOOD. If not, her greatness will vanish away like a morning cloud.'

On the importance of maintaining a fraternal intercourse between the Churches, so auspiciously begun in the present instance, Dr. Reed has many pertinent and judicious remarks, going to show that it must tend to cement the two nations more closely together, and thus enable them by their combined influence, to fulfil their high destiny as instruments in the hands of Omnipotent power and grace, of the world's renovation. This is a most interesting view of the subject. And though from the exceptionable manner in which our author has deigned to notice us, he may think we are so many incumbrances in the way of accomplishing an event so desirable, yet he might have known that the Methodists first set the example of this sort of religious intercourse, by the interchange of delegates from one country to the other, and that it is still kept up from a conviction of its beneficial effects, and without producing, so far as we have learned, any of those disastrous results which are likely to arise from the publication of these volumes—we mean those results which are already witnessed in the alienation of affection among the several denominations by the sectarian partialities which so manifestly characterize these productions.

But the observations of Dr. Reed on the utility which will result from maintaining the principles of unity between the two nations, meet our most hearty approval, and therefore we give them to our readers:—

'To enjoy the intercourse we seek, *peace* must be maintained. The native of either country cannot possibly visit, and become associated with the inhabitants of the other, without deep lamentations that ever war should have existed between them. The resemblances are so great, the connections are so close, the interests so much in common, as to give to conflict all the horrors of civil war. If, in an ordinary case,

war, not sustained by the plea of extreme necessity, is homicide ; in this case it is *fratricide*.

' Another impression I could not help receiving while in this country. It is, that if the religious community here, and the religious community there, were to adopt just views of the subject, and to express themselves in union and with decision on it, the government would not be able, but in a case of self-preservation, which is not likely to occur, to prosecute a war. The accumulating feeling and determination of New-England almost prevented the last war ; and it is likely it would have been prevented altogether, but for the untoward provocation of firing their capital.

' I believe this view of the subject has not been fairly taken by the Churches ; and, so far, they have failed in their duty. In America, the very evils of the last short and unnecessary war have had the good effect of awakening many generous minds in the cause of peace ; and considerable advances have been made, by prizes, addresses, and sermons, to correct and arouse religious feeling especially on the subject. With us, the peace society has been too hastily regarded as a Quaker, and not a Christian institution ; and because it began by asking too much, nothing has been granted to it, and nothing has been done apart from it. But we must not deceive ourselves. The Churches, in both lands, if united on this subject, possess within themselves a moral power which, as it can destroy slavery, so it may make war all but impossible. This power it is not only legitimate to use, it is obligatory ; and they are responsible for all the misery and carnage which arise from its not being used.

' There is yet another view to be taken of this interesting and momentous topic. If the religious communities, by a due exercise of their influence, could make war between the two countries, in almost any supposable case, nearly impossible ; the two countries, remaining in peace, might secure peace to the whole world. If those very nations, which have the least to fear from war, should be the first to keep the peace, what would be the silent influence on all other nations ! And if they should actually employ their advice and influence against angry dispute swelling into deliberate murder, how soon would war become a stranger, if not an exile from our world !

' Not only by power, but even by situation, they seem remarkably fitted to set this example, and to arbitrate these differences, till the troubled nations shall have rest. They are so far from each other that they are freed from those irritations which too commonly originate serious conflict ; so that, if disposed to peace, they can scarcely go to war ; while their reciprocal interests may continually strengthen their bonds of union and amity. And they are so placed in relation to other nations, the one by a boundless territory, and the other by her insular situation, as that necessity can hardly occur for them to participate in the quarrels of others. By station and by power they are prepared to act, not as parties, but as arbiters.

' Here, then, is a field of service, worthy of the Church—worthy of angels ! And it can scarcely be considered as saying too much to state, as I deliberately do, that it is a field the Church has not yet occupied. And still it may be asked, in reply, " Why should she occupy it ? What has she to do with the ambition of the world and the

'strife of the potsherd?' As a mere question of policy or expediency, I would say, Nothing—just nothing. But the cause of peace can never be established among men on the principles of expediency and political advantage; and if it could, then it is rather the work of the citizen than of the Christian. Here has been the great error. It may be well and wise to refer to secondary considerations as dissuatives from war; and, with Burke, we may attempt to horrify the imagination, by calculating that it has destroyed as much life and property as are to be found, at the present time, on the globe, fourteen times told. Yet these representations are short of the mark, and show a feeble and imperfect conception of the monstrous evil. The only effectual argument against war is, that WAR IS SIN. This will lay hold on the conscience; this will justify the Christian in interfering; and this will not allow the Church to slumber, while, for the purposes of vulgar ambition, one hundred thousand men are commanded to massacre another hundred thousand men, and to hurry them away into an awful eternity, uncalled, in their sins and in their blood.

'It is not to be supposed that, in thus glancing at the subject, I should discuss all captious objection. But I would crave to have it observed, that it is no part of my intention to place the principle of peace in opposition to the principle of self preservation. I can conceive of a case, whether of an individual or of a nation, in which resistance may be a virtue; though I am persuaded that this supposable case has been used to justify a thousand actual cases which have no resemblance; and in which resistance is not a virtue, but a crime.

'And as civilization and religion advance, why should not the barbarous and brutal practice of appealing to power, rather than to justice, be superseded by wiser and more humane methods? As in a community, the persons composing it are brought to commit their persons, property, and honor, to the provisions of that community; so, in the family of civilized mankind, composed of a number of nations, why should there not be a common and recognized authority, which should arbitrate the differences, and protect the interests of each and of all; bringing to the weak power, and to the injured righteousness? If any thing is characterizing the times in which it is our privilege to live, it is, that right is taking the place of might; or, in other words, that moral power is supplanting physical power. And nothing can be more favorable to the subject we are contemplating. Right is the harbinger of peace; while force is the very sinews, and soul, and inspiration of the demon war.

'But this appeal, if worthy of the name, is to the Churches. This subject has not been duly considered by them; let them now consider it. Let them remember that they are "children of peace;" that they obey the "Prince of peace;" and that their religion breathes peace, not only on a nation, but on the world. Let them not condemn the evil in the abstract, and plead for it in the detail; nor deplore its soul-harrowing consequences, while they connive at its plausible pretences. Let them strip the demon of all his pomp and circumstance and glory; and let him appear in all his naked and horrible deformity, that men may confess him to be a fiend of the lower, and not a resident of the present world. Let them glorify their religion by banding together as an army of pacificators; and when the crisis for action arrives, let them



raise their voice, and make it to be heard above all the clamor for war, distinctly, calmly, one. Nothing would be more worthy of them ; nothing would contribute more to general civilization ; nothing would so efficiently promote the advancement of religion and virtue ; and nothing would so forcibly place the future, which would be the history of benevolence and peace, in contrast with the past, which is the history of bloodshedding and murder.

‘ So far as America and England are concerned, peace, intercourse, and union should be employed and sanctified as means of energetic *co-operation* for the conversion of the world. This is the end to which we should be steadfastly looking in all our intercourse ; and, great as this end is, it may be thus contemplated without despondency. These nations are singularly prepared by Providence for this high service ; so much so, indeed, as to indicate that it is consigned to their hands.— Where shall we find two nations placed so advantageously on the surface of the globe to this end ? Where shall we find them in possession of so much of the world’s commerce, which is a direct means to this end ? Where shall we find a people whose civil and religious institutions are so prepared to bless mankind ? And where shall we find any people who are so ready, by desire and effort, as these, to bestow whatever makes them distinguished and happy upon all other nations ? Blot out England and America from the map of the world, and you destroy all those great institutions which almost exclusively promise the world’s renovation ; but, unite England and America in energetic and resolved co-operation for the world’s salvation, and the world is saved.

‘ It is not only important that they should render these services ; they should render them in union. It should be felt that what the one does, the other virtually does also ; and the very names, indicating the two people, should be a sort of synonyme, which might be applied to the same works. The service is arduous ; the difficulties are great ; and the adversary of liberty, light, and religion, should be suffered to gain neither advantage nor confidence, by regarding us as separable. We shall have more relative, and more real power, by acting together. In this connection, one and one make more than two ; they exert a triple force against every opposing obstacle.

‘ Here then is the province of these two great countries. They are to consult, act, and labor in union for the conversion and blessedness of the world. For this they are made a people ; for this they are evangelized ; for this they are privileged, and blessed themselves.— Theirs is no common destiny ; and theirs should be no common ambition. They are to find their greatness, not in the degradation of other nations, but in raising them to an elevation of being which they have not known. They should rise from the patriot into the philanthropist, and express love to man from love to his Maker. Great as they then would be, their greatness would not create fear, but admiration and confidence ; and He who made them great would not withhold his approbation.

‘ Let them look to this ! Let no one “ take their crown.” Let the man that would enkindle strife between them, be deemed an enemy alike to both countries. Let them turn away from the trivial and the

temporary; and look on the great, the good, the abiding. Let them faithfully accomplish their high commission, and theirs will be a glory such as Greece, with all her Platonic imaginings, never sought; and such as Rome, with all her real triumphs, never found.'

#### PROFESSOR CALDWELL'S ADDRESS.

*An Address, delivered before the trustees and students, at the annual commencement of Dickinson college, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, July 16, 1835. By MERRITT CALDWELL, A. M., professor of the exact sciences.*

THE cause of education, for its prosperity, depends on the interest taken in it by its friends; and when it is thought how much all are indebted to it, it might at first seem strange, that it should ever want the encouragement which it is in their power to give. But when we look out upon the jarring interests of community,—the noise and strife which pervade the business world;—when we see the rush there is to improvement, to discovery, to invention, to every thing indeed that can interest the feelings, promote pecuniary advantage, or add to the pleasures of sense, we find a satisfactory solution of the fact. Indeed we see even the devotees of learning in danger of being turned aside by these counter influences; and any of those who are called to mingle in these commotions, and to listen to the world's discordant harmony, may well consider themselves fortunate, if they have never felt the paralyzing influence of these things on their love of letters.

It is then good for us to be here,—good for us thus to turn aside to commune with the days of our youth, and to shake hands with those associations which the memory of the past will always hold dear. Were it not for occasions like the present, we might forget the interest we have in the cause of learning, and devote ourselves exclusively to the world. But the recurrence of these reminds us of our obligations, calls us back to our duty, and makes us feel, that we have an alliance with society more strong than the feeble tenure by which we hold our lives, and that our influence may be felt in the generations that are to come after us. Associating, as I do, such ideas with the occasion that has called us together, I should consider it little less than sacrilege to attempt to amuse my audience with the figures of rhetoric, or to while away the hour in idle speculations or visionary theories. I have assumed to myself the graver task of pointing out some of the *practical errors connected with intellectual education*. And here I will premise, that I shall consider education not as confined to the learning derived from books, or that communicated by set lessons of instruction; but as embracing all the means by which the mind is improved, its susceptibilities developed, or its views expanded; and extending consequently from the early lessons gathered from parental precept and example, up to that mental discipline, which is implied in the term *self-education*.

With this explanation, the first error to which I shall call your attention, is that which leads the scholar to too sudden a rush from *truth* to *causes*. It often happens, that truth is not remarkably difficult to be substantiated. Observation, even though careless, teaches us a thousand truths,—a thousand facts, which are fully established with-

out any reference to their causes. And by consciousness, we become acquainted with another class of truths, connected with our mental operations. Well established truths, then, of various kinds, may exist, without ever leading the mind to the contemplation of their cause. Thus, for example, the savage knows well, that his arrow when hurled will return to the ground, though he may never have thought of the cause that draws it downward; and the most unthinking rustic too is fully aware, that those things which interest his feelings most deeply are the things to which the memory adheres the most readily and the most strongly, without even thinking whether there *be* any cause for this, or not.

But the intellect of man is an inquisitive principle. Truth will not long be before the intelligent mind, without leading to an inquiry for the cause; nor is the mind patient of long delay in its researches. Hence the importance of caution and watchful care. For want of these, facts are often attempted to be accounted for on wrong principles, and false causes are assigned. This has come in as a fruitful source of error in every department of science; and giant minds have been compelled to waste their strength in combating and doing away errors which have had such an origin. Even the leading truths connected with the philosophy of the mind, have but recently been traced to their true causes; and many are the phenomena, witnessed both in the intellectual and natural, as well as in the moral world, the causes of which are still left for true philosophy to discover, notwithstanding the many hasty solutions already given.

Not only are causes radically wrong often assigned to explain known truths; but general laws,—which, if deserving the name of causes at all, are only nominal,—have often been assigned as the satisfactory causes of the things to be explained. Gravity, electricity, magnetism, vitality, vegetation, etc., when referred to as ultimate causes of natural phenomena, are of this description. The mere pretender to learning is full of this kind of causes; and the boasting pedant is the last one to say in relation to any thing, however abstruse, that he does not know the cause. How different this from the spirit of true philosophy! Hear the concession of Mr. Locke, that Hercules in mental science,—a concession which the half educated would think too humiliating for himself to make. ‘He that knows any thing,’ says he, ‘knows this in the first place, that he need not seek long for instances of his ignorance. The meanest and most obvious things that come in our way, have dark sides that the quickest sight cannot penetrate into. The clearest and most enlarged understandings of thinking men find themselves puzzled and at a loss in every particle of matter.’

A leading cause of the error to which we have referred is found in that mental indolence, that refuses to search for remote causes,—that refuses to go back behind the scene, and to contemplate the hidden wires which in truth move the whole apparatus, but which are concealed by the curtain which intervenes. It is not then an error of reason, but of indolence. It however puts into the hand of the designing a most dangerous weapon, and one which he too often uses, to ruin the unwary and the young. Few mature intellects have ever been themselves deceived by this kind of sophistry; but many, how many! have had to employ their powers in counteracting the influence of early pre-



judices which have had such an origin ; and to exercise the philosophy peculiar to gifted souls, in rejecting and dashing from them errors which have come up from childhood with them, growing with their growth, and strengthening with their strength.

To him, who in the pursuit of truth would be able clearly to trace facts to their true causes ; and thus avoid the errors which are every where found among the ignorant and the superficial, extensive knowledge is absolutely necessary. Nothing can supply the place of this. But in addition, the power of patient investigation, and an honest love of the truth are needed. The fact that men of profound learning and extensive knowledge have long continued in error, abundantly proves that candor and patience are not less necessary to lead us into truth, than knowledge itself.

Another power, to him who would be able to trace back facts to their true causes, is exceedingly important ; and that is, the power to suspend judgment. To this we are peculiarly reluctant. Not only is there a feeling of impatience in the mind which prevents it, and a degree of mental indolence which it is not easy to overcome ; but with most mere superficial scholars there is a pride in exhibiting a readiness on all important questions, which prevents them from the exercise of careful inquiry, till they have committed themselves ; and till they are thus disqualified to make truth the object of their research. Bacon, and Euler, and Locke, and Newton, and Reid, and Franklin, had the power of predicating their judgments on full and mature reflection. Nor will he who would cultivate a philosophic mind, deviate much from the course they have marked out for him. The truth is, we often have to acknowledge our ignorance. The causes of a thousand things are designedly hid from us, and of a thousand others are so remote, as to require time and care to search them out.

Another popular error connected with education, is that useful learning can be acquired without intellectual effort. This error is not often expressed in words, though in practice it has prevailed to a fearful extent. It is the counterpart of that which would deprive the student of the necessary aids to improvement, that the whole might be the result of his unaided effort. Each of these systems has had its turn. While the latter only delayed the student in his progress, and threw unnecessary discouragements in his way ; the former has had a much more pernicious influence in lowering the standard of education, debilitating the mind, and thus disqualifying the individual for the more responsible and arduous duties of life. This principle has found its way into every department of learning from the infant school to the university,—from the A B C to the learned profession.

For instance, go into the infant schools of our cities, and hear children, almost as soon as they can speak at all, taught to talk about rectangles, prisms and parallelograms, or about meridians and ecliptics ; or hear them chant the tables of arithmetic, or repeat the unintelligible dogmas of the catechism ; as though the sublime truths of geometry, astronomy and theology, could be embraced by the infant mind, and mathematics and religion consisted in names alone. Sure one would think this must be the 'royal road to learning.' Again, go into the primary schools of our country, and see there the rising youth conning the lessons of their grammars, or spelling book ; or endeavoring to

*cipher through their arithmetics*, by learning the rules and getting the answers to the sums. Here the process is as mechanical, as are the motions of the automaton; nor does it differ from them more in any other particular, than in the want of correctness in its results. Instances of the same error are to be seen in those who would learn the application of mathematical principles, without first attending to the elements; or who would become proficient in the natural sciences, without going abroad to look at nature as she is. The error thus far seems to consist in not accurately distinguishing between names and ideas, and in substituting the exercise of memory for judgment and reason; and the blame in these cases attaches principally to teachers, who should never permit a pupil to enter upon or prosecute the investigation of any subject, which he is not fully prepared to understand.

A similar effect is produced on the minds of most of their students, by those institutions, which render effort unnecessary for obtaining their highest honors. And in this respect, no system is perhaps so faulty, as that of communicating instruction by lectures. This does well in lyceums, and on other occasions where the object is to illustrate by experiment, or to communicate general instruction on popular subjects; but to give it the place it has in at least one class of institutions in our country, is but to substitute the interesting for the useful, and to open another 'royal road to learning.' Even the profound mysteries of the law, which can be illustrated neither by diagrams nor skeletons, are taught by lectures, and this method of instruction is introduced into many other schools. Judging from the immediate results, we might suppose some magical influence attached to this system; for the process of making what they call educated or professional men goes on in these schools, with as much regularity at least, as any mechanical process; and the regular graduation and bestowment of honors is much more uniform, than where personal effort is called into requisition, and personal excellence made the rigid test of success.

One hour of close application to the pages of Homer, or to the demonstrations of Euclid, is preferable to a dozen lectures; and a thorough recitation to one deeply read in law or medicine, and well versed in its practice, will give more practical instruction to a student in these departments, than any lecture which can be delivered. Godman, whom, though a distinguished anatomist, no profession can claim, but whose name remains as a legacy to the nation, and to the world, was not made in the lecture room.

He built his own stature, made himself.

He has himself given us his early history, in a letter to a friend.—'Before I was two years old,' says he, 'I was motherless;—before I was five years old I was fatherless and friendless. I have been deprived of property by fraud, that was mine by right. I have eaten the bread of misery, I have drunk the cup of sorrow. I have passed the flower of my days in a state little better than slavery, and arrived at what? Manhood, poverty and desolation.\*' Such does he represent himself, when he commenced the study of medicine; and it is interesting to inquire, how he acquired, in his short life, the envied eminence to which he attained.

\* Quoted from the N. A. Review, for Jan. 1835. Art. Memoir of Dr. Godman.

One who knew him well, says,—‘His eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge seemed like the impulse of gnawing hunger, and an unquenchable thirst, which neither disease nor adversity could allay.’—‘His ambition and thirst for knowledge,’ says another, ‘were such, that having commenced an investigation, or a language, no difficulty could stop him; and what he had no time to accomplish in the day, he would do at night, instead of enjoying that rest of which he often stood in so much need.’\* It was thus by intense application and untiring industry, that he made himself what he was; and his biography speaks volumes in favor of the omnipotence of these. No error can be more fatal, than that learning can be acquired without them; unless it be that other error, which is nearly allied to it, that learning when acquired must be associated with ease and luxury. Let him, who in the pursuit of science would get along without toil and effort, or him who having received the honors of an institution would contemplate his education as finished, and settle down in the enjoyment of ease and luxury, think of Godman; and let such think, that the price he paid for his undying fame is that toil they affect to despise. And let them also remember one other fact, that amidst all his multiplied pursuits, he found time to commence and carry through the most thorough investigation of the truth of the Christian revelation, and in his later years to attend to the duties and cultivate the virtues connected with the religion of Christ. Yes, Godman was a Christian.

The error of which we have spoken often seems to have its origin in an excessive feeling of haste, on the part of the learner, to complete his education. All the means that can be devised to facilitate the onward course are brought into requisition; and as far as possible the pleasing is substituted for the useful, and the showy for the more solid. Nor does the feeling of the young girl, who is eager for her *three months* at a boarding school to close, that she may return home to be looked upon as a *lady*, differ from the feelings of the more advanced scholar, who eagerly looks forward to the time when *his education shall be finished*, and he shall go out into the world a *learned man*. This feeling of haste is encouraged by the book-making community: and to such an extent have mechanical facilities been introduced into our systems of education, that we can, with no small degree of propriety speak of the mechanical character of this our boasted age. And to such self-styled improvements, the ignorance or the indifference of our teachers but too often gives a ready introduction; and thus our schools and institutions of learning are becoming flooded with but poor substitutes for industry and common sense.

The practice of reading without reflection may well be introduced under this head. ‘Nothing,’ says an extensive and accomplished writer, (Stewart,) ‘has such a tendency to weaken, not only the powers of invention, but the intellectual powers in general, as this.’ Yet by how many is it practised? Forgetful of our maxim, that nothing valuable can be acquired without great effort, how many amuse themselves with the idea, that the time thus spent is usefully employed, at the same time that they read merely from indolence. Others read from a curiosity to learn what an author says, without once inquiring whether what he says be true. By such reading nothing but the memory is

\* These extracts are quoted from Dr. Thomas Sewall's eulogy on Dr. Godman.



called into exercise ; the higher faculties of the mind fall into disuse, at the same time that the mind itself becomes unsettled in relation to every important sentiment or opinion. There are others still, who read in the same way, not so much from any personal curiosity, as for the want of moral courage. For, as has been well said, 'It requires courage indeed to remain ignorant of those useless subjects, which are generally valued.' (Helvetius.) How necessary, however, such a courage is, to him who either loves the truth, or is in pursuit of an enduring fame, I need not say.

Another popular error is, that all education should have for its basis practical utility ; by which is meant, that all the pursuits of the scholar should have a direct reference to this principle. Bringing the various objects of pursuit which call the attention of the scholar to this test, some reject from a course of study one thing and some another. And to such an extent has the principle been pushed, that scarcely a branch of learning remains, whether connected with science or literature, which has not been assailed by it. Some utterly reject all knowledge of the mathematics, except what is necessary to present those truths, which are of actual service in the practical business of life ; and even these truths may be learned, say they, without attending to the tedious demonstrations by which they are established. Thus the study of the exact sciences is reduced to the simple process of committing to memory a few propositions which are susceptible of an application to the common concerns of life.

All the objections which are raised against the study of the sciences on the ground of practical inutility are based on an entire forgetfulness of one of the leading objects of education,—that is *mental discipline*. This, with the acquisition of useful knowledge, constitutes the education ; and of the two must be considered far the most important. For with a mind well disciplined, a mind trained to close and accurate thought, practical knowledge to any extent may be readily acquired ; but without this previous discipline, even knowledge itself, if possessed, would be of little avail. But no truth can be considered better established, than that application constitutes the only effectual discipline of the mind. For the purpose of mental discipline, then, if for no other, the foundations of science should be laid permanent and deep in the human mind.

Objections which rest on the same general principle are brought against the pursuit of the natural sciences ; and we often hear the inquiry in relation to the collection of the botanist and the zoologist, as well as the cabinet of the mineralogist,—What are they all worth ? And the mere pretender to learning often joins in the laugh, when the unproductive folly of the naturalist is the topic of conversation. Is it indeed, then, in vain, that God has spread out his works before us ? and is there no advantage derived from looking through nature up to nature's God ? Suffice it to say, that God has implanted in the mind that becomes cultivated, a love for the study of his works ; and has connected with this study a hidden charm, which he who feels, though he may pass a life of toil, and go down to his grave in poverty, unhonored and unsung, envies not the idle man his ease, the miser his stores, or the statesman his honors.

For their supposed practical inutility, almost every branch of polite

learning also has been rejected from the list of useful study. In relation to language, history, rhetoric, and a few others, the question is settled; and few now think of objecting to them on this account. But poetry and music are of a more doubtful character. In relation to these, however, permit me to say, that they are the first lessons which man has ever learned from his Maker. Nature's children have always been poets, from the Hebrew of old, to the native inhabitant of our soil,—from the hyperborean snows of the Goths and Scythians, to the torrid zone, where wanders the African in his native glory. The praises of God have in all ages and in all climates gone up, associated with all that is inspiring in poetry and song; and many of the choicest portions of inspiration have been given in poetic numbers.

Painting and sculpture are but sister arts; and those only who have had the pleasure of looking on the master pieces of the first artists, are prepared to judge with any degree of correctness on the subject. If asked, in general terms, why I would have a taste for the fine arts cultivated, my answer should be,—because we are so constituted by our Creator that these become to us sources of happiness. And it yet remains to be proved, that the pleasure derived from this source is less pure, than that which the man of the world derives from his industry, his titles, or his gold.

An error, the opposite of that to which we have alluded, has an existence at least in practice; and the principle of utility has been lost sight of in some of our systems of education. This also has been pushed to strange extremes. On the one hand, mental discipline, without any regard to its practical application, has been consulted; and on the other, all reference to this has been lost, and external accomplishments have received the whole attention. In regard to its former application, I may be permitted to add to what I have already said on the subject, that there should be a proper blending of mental discipline with the acquisition of useful knowledge. The amount of attention, therefore, given to the abstruse sciences, should depend on the extent to which the education is to be carried. Thus the study of the calculus, or even of geometry, would not be thought as important to him who is simply preparing himself for a farm, as would be that of chemical and mechanical philosophy, and some of the other branches of natural science. In a limited course of study, then, the principal dependence for disciplining the mind, must be on the effort necessary to the acquisition of useful knowledge. In a full and complete course, however, the abstract sciences properly claim a high share of attention; nor should any one, who would acquire the power or habit of close consecutive thinking, think lightly of such a course.

In regard to the latter application of this erroneous principle, which attaches too much importance to mere external accomplishments, and in their glitter loses sight of the principle of utility, I may say, it has been principally confined to female education. Happily for the rising race, however, there are becoming more and more Cornelias in our country,—more and more, who consider their children as their jewels; and who prefer, that their daughters should compare with the diamond of the mine, rather than with the lily of the valley. But how many have we seen,—accomplished young ladies to be sure,—of whom it might be said, that a genteel form, a graceful movement, and a store of ro-

mantic lore, accompanied perchance with a smattering of music and French, constitute the whole of their education. Yet perhaps years had been given to its acquisition. The object of female education, in these cases seems to be lost sight of. The young lady is not always to remain that fantastic being she is at sixteen. Her education should be such as to fit her for other scenes, when she shall become, what indeed she should always be, the *companion* instead of the *idol* of her friends. In many cases education has accomplished this object; and not a few are found, who, when addressed as the mere creatures of feeling, the proper subjects of flattery, and as unable to enjoy even an intellectual repast, know well how to appreciate *such* a compliment to their intelligence.

Yet all is not as it should be. The standard of female education is not raised sufficiently high. How many there are yet, whose highest object is to acquire some of the more graceful accomplishments; and who value some trifling work of taste, or skill in the fine arts, higher than the literary gem, or a much more valuable treasure drawn from the mines of science. The object of a knowledge of the fine arts, or the lighter literature, is to add a polish to a more thorough intellectual education; and should be attended to, only to sweeten the toils connected with the acquisition of solid learning, or to give a healthful acuteness to the imagination and a perfection to the sentient powers, which the pursuit of the sciences had failed to yield. At the same time, then, that the principle of utility, as it has been defined, should not predominate, so as to swallow up every thing else, neither should it be lost sight of, in any system of education or department of learning.

Another grand practical error connected with education, very different in its nature from those I have noticed, arises from the supposition, that the mind is divided in its action into separate powers. Thus we often hear philosophy contrasted with feeling; and taste and imagination with judgment; and (to represent the subject more clearly) we have seen the will set in array with the passions, as if they sustained to each other only a relation like tribes or clans inhabiting the same district; and have had it presented to us, as *one power* of the mind engaged in a conflict with the *other powers*, and liable to have its acts even annulled by them. Thus the volitions are represented as the acts of but *a part* of the mind, instead of being, as they are, the acts of the *whole* mind, in the exercise of that susceptibility, by which is exhibited the result of its own deliberations. Passing, however, this last erroneous application of the principle, which is here introduced only for illustration, the powers or faculties of the mind are often spoken of, not only as distinct and capable of independent action; but their acts are represented as incongruous the one with the other, so that the ability to perform one class of mental operations is made to preclude the power of performing others. This is the point we shall first examine. Here is opened a broad field of discussion; and I have only to regret, that I must delay but a few moments, where I might linger an hour. By way of introduction, let me inquire, where are found the power of philosophical research, and the deep-toned emotion,—the accurate taste, and the powerful judgment?—where but in the mind? And what is the mind, but *one undivided intelligence*? I think it not difficult to be made to appear, that every mental act, of whatever character, is an act of the *whole* mind. If so, however great be the difference in the strength of



different minds, the inference is strong, that that mind which is powerful to feel, is powerful to reason ; and that the vigorous and well regulated imagination is never unassociated with the strong judgment.

In the examination of this subject, however, we will be particular. In common parlance, as we have suggested, strong thought is supposed to be inconsistent with deep feeling ; and, on the contrary, a want of feeling is dignified by the name of philosophy. Judging from the frequency of such admissions, we might almost be led to consider it a moral axiom. It has been strongly expressed by one of our statesmen, (Ames' Essays—Equality, No. 1,) where he says, 'A true philosopher is superior to humanity ; he could walk at ease over this earth, if it were unpeopled ; he could tread with all the pleasure of curiosity, on its cinders, the day after the final conflagration.' With this sentiment, the hypothesis I have just advanced is altogether at variance. I can indeed have an idea, that the conceit of the poet, (Campbell,) might be realized ; that the last of our race, wrapt about with the sublimity of emotion, and lost in the consciousness of his own dignity and of his alliance with the Supreme, might tread on the fragments of the ruined world, and, as his eye caught the last lingering ray of the extinguished sun,

The dark'ning universe defy  
To quench his immortality,  
Or shake his trust in God.

But I cannot conceive, that it is the part of true philosophy to look upon human woe without emotion, to tread unmoved upon the ruins of time, or to gaze, as a disinterested spectator, upon the operation of any thing which concerns the welfare of our race.

But, to take a philosophical view of this subject, what is feeling ? What, but an emotion arising from the perception of some object, or truth ; and consequently, associated with some thought, or idea ? If it be thus, then intense feeling, so far from being opposed to thinking, is but another name for intense thought ; and that mind alone is powerful to feel, which is powerful to think,—powerful to reason. And if it indeed be thus, it is interesting to inquire, how a sentiment the opposite of this came to be so generally diffused. The argument briefly stated, is this. The philosopher,—he who really deserves the appellation,—is seen to pursue whatever he purposes in his heart, with an inflexibility and decision, which seem much more like the result of cool reason than of passion. Whatever conscience or reason dictates, he never shrinks from, whatever inducements indolence or passion suggest to turn him from his purpose. The warrior too, it is said, mingles in the strife of conflicting armies, issues his orders and sustains his broken troops, surrounded by the dead and the dying, with a coolness utterly incompatible with the exercise of the tender emotions. Again we are referred to the orator, who with 'quiet dignity and unruffled self-possession,' can sway at pleasure the feelings and judgment of his audience, bring into violent conflict all the excitable ingredients of human nature,

With terror now can freeze the cowering blood,  
And now dissolve the heart in tenderness ;  
and who, meantime, looks apparently unmoved,  
On hearts and passions prostrate at his feet.

And the inference from these premises is, that these men do not feel as intensely as do inferior minds.

This inference is erroneous. Matter of fact proves that these men have passions capable of being aroused to tremendous action. They differ from other men simply in this, that their passions are under the control of their wills. The joyous *Eureka* of Archimides, the trembling frame of Newton, as he came near to the conclusion of those calculations which gave laws to the universe, and the swooning of Rittenhouse, when his prediction was realized, and he was gazing at a phenomenon\* which no eye should again see till other generations should people the earth,—demonstrate that these men could *feel* as well as *reason*. Washington, on parting with his compatriots, at the close of the revolution, gave silent, but affecting and impressive evidence of the deepest emotion; and Napoleon,—even Napoleon! could be agitated to trembling, on hearing the piteous moans of a dog that lay by the side of his master on the deserted battle field. That orator, too, who stands in all the dignity of self-collection,—if it but subserve his purpose, can throw off the restraints from his passions; when at once his voice, his action, the flashes of his eye, the vitality he gives to every expression of sentiment—all become indices of the raging of that tempest which has till then been confined within. It remains to be shown that such feel less strongly than did Homer when he described the tears of Andromache; or than Virgil, when he sung the fate of Nisus and Eurialus; or that any of these did not feel more strongly than *can* the common vulgar mind.

This error has led thousands to cultivate a stoical turn of mind,—an apathy and indifference to human weal and human woe, which has proved ruinous to the finer feelings of their nature, destroyed the delicate texture of the soul, cut them loose from the sympathies of life, and blighted those nice sensibilities, without which society is but a name, and intercourse with the world but loneliness and solitude. If the views I have advocated be correct, then it follows that that philosophy which forbids deep feeling, must at the same time remove from its possessor the power of deep thought, or at least the propensity to indulge in it. Or, if deep thought be allowed at all, it must be confined to such subjects as have no tendency to make him either a happier or a better man.

We also hear it said that there is an incongruity between the imagination and the judgment; at least, that they are distinct and opposite attributes of the mind. If I do not misunderstand the reason, which is so often given for the careless perusal of fictitious writings, it is based on this sentiment. For those who resort to this source for the avowed purpose of cultivating the imagination, are the last to peruse them in a way to improve the judgment. But does this incongruity actually exist? In answering this question, it is important to remark that *imagination* and *fancy* are not synonymous terms; the latter representing the faculty by which the mind forms its conceptions, and the former, the power of combining and modifying these conceptions at pleasure. Milton speaks of the creations of the fancy, as,—

\* The transit of Venus, which occurred in 1769.

Airy shapes,  
Which reason joining or disjoining, frames ;  
All what we affirm or what deny, and call  
Our knowledge, or opinion ;—

Nor is this the theory of the poet only. Now of what use are these 'airy shapes,' till joined and arranged by the reason? Yet these are the very things with which the minds of thousands of young females are filled, which give them only a morbid sensibility to every circumstance of excitement, whether real or imaginary, and which are the legitimate offspring of the careless perusal of novels and works of taste.

When these 'airy shapes,' which fancy presents to the mind, are combined and arranged into harmonious pictures by the imagination, then, and not till then, they become useful. But how can this harmonious arrangement be made, without an exercise of the judgment? If this view be correct, it follows that the imagination implies an exercise of the judgment; and that taste cannot be exercised without it. This is in accordance with the sentiment of a recent writer on rhetoric,\* when he defines taste as 'a judgment of what is fitted to excite emotions of beauty, grandeur, and sublimity, founded on the experience of past emotions.'

The inference I shall draw from this view of the subject is, that the cultivation of the imagination without an exercise of the judgment involves an absurdity, and cannot take place. The imagination and judgment, instead of being at war with each other, are mutually necessary to each other's strength and perfection. A fine imagination cannot exist without a correct judgment; and in relation to the judgment, it scarcely need be said that without imagination to aid in the combination of thought, it could be applied to no extensive object of utility. Their cultivation, then, must go hand in hand; and when one of them is neglected, they are both neglected. A luxuriant fancy, it is true, may exist without judgment; but then it exists also without imagination, and is a thousand fold worse than the possession of neither. To the poet or the painter, judgment and imagination are not less necessary than fancy itself; and are as necessary to them as to the philosopher, the architect, or the statesman. As a final inference from the whole subject, I conclude that the imagination, like the other treasures of the mind, is the price of toil. He who would drink at Castalia's sacred fount, must first labor up the rugged steep of Parnassus.

On the general subject of dividing the mind into faculties, I would not longer dwell; but that the strange error has grown out of this, of exempting certain faculties from the necessity of study. We hear men talk of a genius for poetry, for mathematics, for painting, for extemporaneous speaking, for the languages, and, in fact, for almost every thing; and all this is well enough, if the phraseology be rightly understood. If by genius is meant simply a natural aptitude or power of acquiring talents of a particular kind, we will not object to it. For we do not believe all men to possess originally the same constitution and powers of mind; nor that the most fixed application can supply all the native defects of the mind. But by original genius is often meant something more than this. *Poeta nascitur non fit*, has long since passed into a proverb, with a broader signification than this

\* Professor Newman of Bowdoin College.



exposition would give to it. And a recent writer in a foreign review\* says, 'Genius is heaven-born and fortuitous, and depends comparatively little upon culture.' This is precisely the sentiment I am about to oppose; for the circumstance, that what is here called *genius* depends *at all* on culture, proves that the writer means something more than a natural aptitude to learn. But if it mean any thing more than this, then it depends essentially and primarily on culture.—Otherwise genius is a mere imaginary thing. It may exist, any length of time, without culture, without application, without exercise. Thus he who passes for the veriest blockhead, may be the greatest genius; and all that is necessary for a display of this imaginary power, is the recurrence of some appropriate circumstance to call it into action. This notion, how gratifying to many a fond parent; while he can compliment his son, and flatter his own vanity, by saying that 'the boy has a great natural genius,' at the same time that he says, 'he never could be made to apply himself to study.' Than this, no error could be more fatal to the growth of the youthful mind.

Genius, if it means any thing, means the power and the disposition to study. Genius will study; it is the very nature of it to study; and where there is no love of study there is no genius. This is the ground I take;—that no natural gift can supply the place of hard study. In relation to taste and imagination, it would seem that enough had been already said. Their exercise implies an exercise of the understanding,—and such an understanding as can be acquired only by the most careful examination of every thing to which it relates. Yet, to hear some talk, we should think Homer's an undisciplined mind. Of Shakspeare we have indeed been told by a modern reviewer, that 'after having written his thirty-eight plays he went carelessly down to the country, and lived out his days apparently unconscious of having done any thing at all extraordinary.' As though some magic charm, some enchanting spell, like the gift of prophecy, rested down upon him for a time, and then left him, like the Nazarite of old, weak and like another man. The immortal productions of West's pencil we are taught to consider as the work of some fairy hand. And we have learned to look upon Henry, in the midst of his mighty efforts, with scarcely less reverence than though the direct inspiration of Heaven had been visibly upon him.

These are strongly marked cases; and are often quoted as examples of the development of genius without previous discipline. And the reason that there are any cases like these, is, that study is not always *formal*, but simply a concentration of the mind upon its object, whatever it may be. It consists not alone in midnight vigils, not alone in poring over books, nor in putting on an air of thoughtfulness; witness this same Henry. What means it when he is seen hour after hour, apparently watching his motionless fish-line; nor heeding the approach of footsteps, or the shades of night. To me, that gives evidence of intense study,—all-absorbing, abstracted thought. His was a genius that studied every where; and this a bliss not unlike that,

The lonely bard enjoyed, when forth he walked  
Unpurposed; stood, and knew not why; sat down,

\* Foreign Quarterly Review for July, 1834.—Art. Madame de Staël.

And knew not where; arose, and knew not when;  
Had eyes, and saw not; ears, and nothing heard;  
And sought—sought neither heaven nor earth—sought nought,  
Nor meant to think; but ran meantime, through vast  
Of visionary things, fairer than ought  
That was; and saw the distant tops of thoughts,  
Which men of common stature never saw.  
He entered into Nature's holy place,  
And heard unutterable things;

things then indeed unutterable; but afterward uttered boldly forth before multitudes of assembled men.

Not unlike this must have been the history of Homer, of Shakspeare, and a thousand more. That a particular bent of mind, or aptitude for a particular study or employment often exhibits itself in early life, I do not of course deny. On the contrary, I admit that this was the case with Euler, with Newton, with West, with Fulton, and a host of others who have become eminent in the world; and only assert that this is all that should be embraced in the word *genius*, when used in the connection of which we are speaking. And if this be what is properly called genius, permit me to inquire how it exhibited itself in these cases; how it could have exhibited itself; or how such a power can exhibit itself in any future case, but in a love of study, and in the power of attention to its object? If these had been wanting, what would have remained? When we refer to the attainments of these men,—to any talents or skill which they possessed, these were with them, as they are in all other cases, the purchase of labor and toil. Indeed I should want no better comment than these furnish on the text, that genius is application. And could we become familiar with the history of the world's master spirits in general, and see, from infancy to the active scenes of life, the hidden workings of those gifted souls, the result would be the same. Could we see the poet's twilight abstraction and the painter's deep and unwearied study of the models of excellence in nature and in art,—could we see the orator's midnight musings, and feel his soul-thrilling interest, his overwhelming pressure of emotion, and his intense thought; we should no longer think of genius, in connection with them, as consisting in aught but powerful feeling, strong and vivid perception, and a clear and discriminating intellect. And even though it should break forth sudden, like lightning from the cloud, we should only think that, like the ethereal fire, it had been collecting its power, long ere it flashed out before the admiring gaze of men. Excellence, then, without effort, in any department of the arts or sciences, is but a school-boy's dream; worthy of him only who would become a learned man by reading novels and the reviews; or who would master the sciences, at the same time that he is indulging in all the pleasures and refinements of social life.

The last error I shall notice attaches itself particularly to those who are commencing their education; and this class of course embraces all who are pursuing their studies at our colleges and seminaries of learning. It seems to be based on the forgetfulness of the high and ennobling motives which should ever be before the American scholar. Some of these motives are,—the love of usefulness; the opportunities offered in our country for honorable distinction; and a sense of obligation to one's friends, to his country, and to his God. In the influence of these may be found the magic of the success of our self-made

men; and it is here precisely that their great strength lies. Nothing but high considerations like these could carry them through all the various discouragements they have to meet; but with these in view, nothing has power to prevent the accomplishment of their purposes.—By losing sight of these high and holy motives, how many a scholar has passed his years of improvement in indolence; relying perchance on the influence, or the wealth of his friends, to carry him through the world. How many others have sacrificed their literary rank to the comparatively worthless pleasures of society. How many others still, like him of old, who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, have exchanged all that is valuable in a literary reputation, for the pleasures of the cup and the luxuries of the table. How many more have lost sight of the permanent and rich endowments of the mind in the glitter of present popularity, and in pursuit of the objects of a vain ambition. And O! how many, even of those who have enriched their intellects by the highest culture, have permitted their moral natures to lie waste and desolate; and have prostituted their talents to the subversion of human happiness! Not so with him who is looking for the reward of his toil, either to the rewards of virtue, or to that estimate which the world shall set on his talents or his labors.

In conclusion, permit me to say to the young gentlemen present;—You are at liberty to appropriate these last remarks particularly to yourselves. Look not too much at the immediate rewards of your desert. Think not too much of the present distinction which any course of conduct can purchase for you. And when tempted to turn aside from the great work in which you are engaged, to indulge in the pleasures and in the dissipating amusements of society, think of the future. There are fields of honor in our country to be reaped; there are stations of usefulness to be filled. With yourselves it chiefly rests to say, whether you will become the pride of your families, go up to stations of honor and usefulness, and be remembered with gratitude by those who come after you; or whether you will become ‘the hewers of wood, and drawers of water,’ to those who shall be more deserving than yourselves. In a word, remember that the *world* is your theatre, and *public life* the stage on which you are destined to act; and that that fame which is associated with unyielding virtue and sterling integrity, and which is bought by a generous self-devotion to the public good, is the only renown which shall cheer the decline of life, or which shall be rewarded by the love and veneration of after ages.

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#### AN ORATION

*Pronounced before the Philorhetorian Society of the Wesleyan University, August 25, 1835. BY THE REV. JOHN DEMPSTER.*

PERCEIVING before me an assembly, the most of whom might instruct the speaker, I would dare to challenge your attention for a few moments, only on the ground that my theme is important.

This bright array of talent and literature, of mental and moral excellence, imposes on the speaker higher obligations, as it consists of blooming youth and honorable age; of those who look to be led nearer the acme of human attainments, and of those who demand our accordance in the great principles with which they are familiar.



The infant, but far-famed institution with which you are connected, demands the attention of such minds, so cultivated; for in this great republic thousands are looking to the **WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY**, as to a radiant point, from which should diverge, in all directions, the rays of deep literature and correct philosophy. Nor does the object that unites the society, which I particularly address, claim too much when it calls into requisition the highest powers that grace the assembly. This object consisting in that wondrous art by which one mind is made to animate a thousand—by which one individual melts and moulds the spell-bound throng that hear him into his own manner of conceiving and purposes of acting.

This art, which is called **ELOQUENCE**, has been cultivated by the most highly endowed minds of which the history of our race speaks. It has achieved deeds at which the world wondered, and by which the destinies of nations were swayed. This art received more attention, and wrought greater feats, when Greece was young and vigorous, and when Rome was powerful and classic, than during the long chain of ages that has succeeded those illustrious periods.

And though a land of *liberty* furnishes the only soil in which eloquence can bud and bloom, it has never received an attention in the new world, proportioned to the measureless sway it is capable of exerting. In our times it seems to be too generally assumed that a speaker becomes eloquent as a season becomes fruitful, depending neither on the goodness of the seed deposited, nor on the skill and diligence of the cultivator; but on hidden causes entirely within the control of mysterious power. Or, on the other hand, the most arduous labor has been bestowed to furnish qualifications which nature alone can give; while those attainments, which the most protracted life is not too long to make, have been expected to flow, unsought, from the hand of nature.

Now, that something may be contributed toward rightly directing efforts to accomplish this great object, permit me to glance at what belongs to *nature*, and what to *art*, in *furnishing an orator*.

When I affirm that the intonations of the voice, and the gesticulations of the speaker, depend on art only to correct what is wrong, I merely repeat what has often been insisted on by the greatest masters of rhetoric.

If he speaks the most eloquently who speaks the most naturally, then whatever makes his manner less natural, makes the orator less eloquent. Nature, then, so far as manner is concerned, furnishes the only correct standard of eloquence; whatever, therefore, adds to simple nature, or diminishes its powers, derogates from the standard of good speaking. Every attempt to improve nature embarrasses her; for if it be not entirely useless, because utterly inefficient, it must be positively injurious.

Is it, then, demanded why the prince of Grecian orators deemed himself unfit for the forum, until he had passed the mirror and sea-side training? Why the master-spirits of every age have insisted on the most rigid discipline for the future orator? The only correct answer is, that Demosthenes, in all this training, aimed not at improving nature, but at disenthraling her—not to make his gesticulations artificial, or less natural, but more accordant with nature—not to rise above nature, but to free her from that awkwardness induced by early embarrassment—not to teach his voice when to rise, and when to fall, but to give it strength and clearness, by vigorous exercise. Indeed, the

only legitimate object of all such training, is not to acquire what is right, but to remove what is wrong.

But who, among all the thousands destined to act as public speakers, have neither contracted unnatural habits, nor are yet in danger of contracting them? Here, then, is an imperious demand for rigid rules and skilful teachers.

Newton found it more difficult to unlearn the world what it had erroneously believed for a thousand years, than to learn it his vast system of truth, which is supported by the loftiest mathematical demonstration. And if we require rules and instructors in those branches which aim at improving native powers, much more do we need them where error threatens to embarrass these powers, and to unlearn that into which we have unfortunately blundered.

Indeed, if we inquire after the greatest obstacle, with which the teacher of this art is called to contend, we are referred to his task of unlearning the future orator, what he should never have learned.

But when the pupil has been prevented from falling into error, or when his acquired awkwardness has been removed, he has received from his instructor all that human skill can bestow. He might be furnished with a set of rules, with a view to assist nature—rules by which he should extend his arm, raise his voice, and place the emphasis; but if the corresponding feeling of his nature prompt not these, in vain are they performed mechanically; and if these feelings do prompt them, he can need no other prompter. Should a speaker turn his attention to the modulations of his voice, and to the motions of his hands, the feelings indispensable to proper tones and action will assuredly be wanting. For if the mind can attend to but one object at the same moment, and if it can feel no excitement from that to which it pays no attention, then, while it is intent on the *manner* of communicating, it can catch no inspiration from the matter communicated. And if the speaker's attention be divided between the manner and matter, the excitement his mind should feel from the latter, will, of course, be diminished in exact proportion as it attends to the former.

Whatever degree of attention, therefore, is given to the manner, while speaking, just so much diminishes the excitement indispensable to a proper manner.

Nature, in the work that is entirely her own, scorns all the intermeddling of art. As well may we prescribe rules by which the sorrowing widow shall weep, as to fix those by which the orator shall be eloquent. In this work nature must be left alone, free and unfettered as the circumambient air we breathe; then will the thoughts that glow, the genius that flashes, brighten and vivify all her exterior powers.

But though to correct what is wrong is all that art can do as to the management of the voice, and the action of the speaker, it can do much more in furnishing his other qualifications.

He must have at his command LANGUAGE, and language was never the gift of nature. Nature undoubtedly has her signs by which her strong emotions may be unequivocally expressed. The motion of the hand, the tone of the voice, the look of the eye, the features of the face, and the very limbs of the body, may all be eloquent of the struggling emotions within. These are the appropriate media through which heart communes with heart; but the most mighty and admirable instrument by which mind converses with mind—by which intellect

acts on intellect, is *language*. The very constitution of human society evidently demanded this instrument. Without it the loftiest purposes of being must have remained unaccomplished. But though language did not originate in nature, though it was contrived by human genius, or given by a miracle from heaven, nature has evidently adopted it and made it her own. Did it not corruscate with the scintillations emitted by nature, it could never be that wonder-working instrument by which the bosoms of a thousand listeners are made to glow. Did not the ardent mind of the speaker embody itself in the words which he utters, they could never possess that magic power by which they have so often acted on minds of every habit, and of every capacity.

It is this dependence which the efficacy of language has on the inspiration of the mind, together with the sympathy which mind has with mind, through the appropriate medium, that gives one word in a sentence more power than any other of all the thousands that compose a language. Other words there may be, of nearly the same import, but just so much as their force and meaning differ from the right one, will they fail to carry the entire view of the speaker to the soul of the hearer. Nor is there a less powerful charm in the right members of a sentence, than in the words of which it is composed.

It is familiar to good taste, that so entirely may a sentence be finished, as that the smallest change in any of its members, would mar the beauty of its symmetry, and break the enchantment with which it acts. The same thing is equally true, and more important with respect to a whole discourse. Where an entire discourse is made to consist of one chain into which the sentences that compose it naturally connect themselves, it is known to act on the rational faculties with a power no less captivating than that with which a well-formed sentence acts on cultivated taste.

To use language with merely grammatical correctness, can give the speaker no claims to the orator's lofty prerogative. He must use it with enchanting sweetness, and with resistless force. He must use it so as to convince, persuade, and overpower—with perspicuity, with energy, and with elegance.

As, then, language is the magic wand, the unparalleled *instrument*, by which the orator achieves all that is splendid in his art, what labor is too Herculean to acquire its richest treasures? In vain may he hope to acquire them without labor; for a mind not extensively acquainted with language, not imbued with its living spirit, and enriched with its highest attributes, can never select its best terms and combine them in the most forcible manner, during the arduous labor of public address, amidst the flashes of genius and the goings forth of daring thought.

But to make the highest philological attainments, is far from completing the qualifications of a speaker. These furnish the channel of communication, but not the matter to be communicated. To that versatility of mind, so important to an orator, a knowledge of nature through the various sciences is indispensable.

He is to accomplish three great purposes by becoming a man of science. He acquires materials for illustration, a knowledge of the various subjects he may be called to treat, and a vigor and expansion of his mental powers.

He should be a man of science, that from its vast storehouse he may draw materials for the purposes of illustration. Addressing men



of every art and of every science, he should be able to avail himself of all the facts and truths which they furnish the literary world. That in which a man is deeply interested, and with which he is most familiar, is to him the most striking illustration of whatever may be inculcated. Hence, from the business followed, and the objects pursued, by the various ranks of men, the orator should be qualified to collect materials for illustration, and so lay under contribution, to his great purpose, every object within the grasp of his thoughts and the compass of his research. He should be able to draw his comparisons, and borrow his imagery from the deepest wonders of art, and the grandest scenes of nature—from the darkest chambers of mind, and the loftiest mount of science. Not only should he be able to arm himself with the materials for comparison and imagery, and for description, furnished by the newly-created substances of chemistry, the wondrous laws of hydraulics, the mysterious operations of magnetism, the wonder-working electric fluid, and all the arts that compel material nature to execute human purposes; but he should be able to press into his service the spirit of the whirlwind and the torrent of the lightning; the growl of the ocean and the thunder of the heavens; the bloom of the rose and the beams of the morning, together with the deep feelings of kindred spirits and the bright flashes of lofty minds. When he has explored this broad field, in which mind was never capable of satiety, there await his bidding figures of every form, and flowers of every hue.

The orator should also have a knowledge of science, because it is indispensable to qualify him for the subject on which he may be called to speak. Without knowledge commensurate to his subject, his wit might sparkle, his fancy paint, and his genius flash, but his arguments might never be invincible. How, for example, as a statesman, can he intelligently speak concerning a proposed improvement of a hydraulic, pneumatic, or geological character, without some scientific attainments? How, as a physician, on the causes and cures of diseases, without knowing the structure of the human frame, and the chemical properties of the proposed remedy? How, as a lawyer, without some acquaintance with the principles of those arts which the various causes he pleads may involve? Or how, as a preacher, without some comprehensive view of the natural sciences, to which the book he explains so constantly alludes?

But his mind should be fraught with scientific knowledge, especially because he needs the vigor and expansion obtained by acquiring such knowledge. The mental, like the corporeal powers, become vigorous in proportion as they are exercised. And, assuredly, we can need no new argument to prove that mental vigor, consisting in acuteness of perception, fixedness of attention, tenacity of memory, and vivacity of imagination, is to the orator an indispensable qualification, if he would be lastingly successful. Now, though mental vigor is nature's gift, its improvement is the fruit of making large scientific acquirements; for the arduous exercise of the mind, and the increasing strength of its powers, are well known to stand in the order of cause and effect.

And what intellectual labor could so thoroughly discipline the mind, as the acquiring of those sciences which require habits of the closest attention, and of strictly consecutive thought.

Mathematics, for instance, that intellectual cathartic, cannot fail to impart mental health and vigor. What mind can trace its endless golden

chain, link by link, from almost nothing, out to infinity, and not learn to think in higher style?

Held in communion with these pure and immutable truths, the mind loses its imbecility, and ascends to empire, over the dominion of nature. And having acquired an acuteness, which this most perfect of the sciences alone could render, the mind is prepared to be amplified, by ascending to the regions of astronomy. There, it accustoms itself to make worlds and systems the play ground of its thoughts—to take in, not only those bodies which creative power has stationed around the sun, but through our far-looking instruments, to wander over the very outskirts of Jehovah's dominion—to make four hundred millions of worlds, the field it explores. A mind thus employed cannot but grasp in its enlarged embrace the *totality* of the subject which it may discuss. Now what is affirmed of the improving influence of these two branches of science, on the mind, is no less true of the tendency of all other branches. For not only will our acquaintance with the beauty, order, and harmony of nature, be more accurate and extensive, as the range of our knowledge becomes broader, but the grasp of our intellectual powers will be proportionally strengthened.

All the phenomena of mind, and matter, are doubtless referable to a few general principles; for, as our knowledge of nature has enlarged, the number of principles, under which we class its operations, has diminished, and the same result may be expected through all the progress of human knowledge, up to the utmost limit it is destined to reach.

Hence, by following nature into all her penetrable secrets, that mental power by which we generalize, is signally improved—that intellectual command, by which objects apparently various, are ordered into one class, under the same principle, is much extended.

And how important to the orator is the power rapidly to classify—to trace particular truths to general truths—single acts and feelings to a broad and pervading principle, no elevated order of talent can be needful to show.

For every additional principle, on which science rests, with which the orator becomes acquainted, while it is another key to admit him to new intellectual treasures, and a magic power, by which another feature in the face of the universe is unveiled to him, is also a new accession of mental energy. And, indeed, the mind deeply acquainted with all these great principles, becomes itself the place within the limits of which the universe lies—a place in which revolve, in miniature, all the ages of time—a place in which are witnessed, in epitome, all the past and future operations of nature. Now, it is this comprehensive grasp of nature which elevates intellect above the fogs of sense and passion, to that towering summit, ever bright with the eternal splendor of reason.

And who so much needs the intellect, stored with these treasures of invaluable knowledge; who so much needs the imagination replenished with splendid imagery, and all the various accomplishments, with which profound study can enrich the mind, as he who is to melt and mould the mingled throng into his own peculiar mood?

The orator must also know the philosophy of mind, for it is with mind he has chiefly to do.

Unless he knows the powers with which it is gifted, and the laws by which it is governed, how can he apply to it that mental, or moral force, indispensable to move it favorably toward his ruling object?

How can he move the mental energies in a given direction, when he knows not the spring to be touched, which communicates such motion? He must then familiarize himself with the nature of mind—with its susceptibilities, its passions, and its propensities—with its powers to think, and its desires to act. Not that he can withdraw that covering with which the Creator has veiled the essence of mind, or analyze that thought-producing principle which likens us to Him—not that he can trace it in every step of its viewless process, or even determine the manner in which it commences many of its operations. We know not that this sagacity belongs to any created intellect. But he may acquaint himself with the original susceptibilities of the mind, with the laws of its associations, and with the motives by which, in its various states, it may be most easily influenced.

And as the history of our race is the philosophy of our nature, it is a medium through which the phenomena of mind should be steadily contemplated. It unfolds the powers, marks the propensities, and carries us back to the susceptibilities of the human being. Leading us up the stream of time, through all the ages the sun has measured out, it develops human character under all the millions of varied circumstances, in which the multitudes of our race have been placed. It records not only those renowned achievements, which have filled the world with the actors' names; but it nicely traces those hidden causes which have acted differently on various minds. It admits us to the councils of kings, the intrigues of courts, and to those untold motives, which acts themselves only could reveal. It displays human nature under the empire of vice, under the control of virtue—in the absence of strong temptations, and under the excitement of powerful motives. So that an accurate acquaintance with history, is a profound knowledge of mind. This is especially so, when he who studies it, reads with equal care, the mystic page of his own bosom. For in himself every man may find, in embryo, most qualities of mind that have ever been displayed by our race, since it first entered on existence.

And when these two immense volumes are studied together—where thought is made the subject of thought, desire a matter of scrutiny, and passion the object of rigid analysis, and when this theatre on which the mental man is surveyed, becomes enlarged into the field of universal history, a knowledge of mind is acquired, which reaches to the utmost attainable limit.

Now, just in proportion as this knowledge is acquired by the orator, will be his power to perceive the most direct avenue to his auditors' hearts. Knowing what human nature is, he will address men in the character they really sustain; not as though they were all matter or all mind; not as if they should act entirely for the present world or wholly for the next; not as if each were a solitary being, or lived wholly for society: but as possessing a compound nature which partakes both of the earth-born animal and heavenly cherub—as providing for two allotments of being—the mixed state of time, and the changeless relations of eternity,—as capable of excitement by two classes of motives—such as are found in self-interest and those urged by the mighty voice of conscience. With this comprehensive knowledge of the capabilities, propensities, and destinies of men will he perceive, at a glance, the side on which they lie most open to conviction and persuasion; and thus act on those great principles by which human



nature, in every variety of condition, may be easily approached, and powerfully swayed.

But if the orator would be eloquent, he must be virtuous.

For all his mightiest appeals are to those strong principles, which expire in human nature the moment virtue is lost. And as these principles can only be appealed to with success, by him in whose own bosom they powerfully operate, when they cease to predominate there, he ceases to excite them any where else. Thus if the man who is niggardly, would induce others to act generously, he must himself first feel the transforming thrill of noble sentiment. If he who is obdurate, would touch the hearts of his auditors, by a picture of woe, his own must first be melted to pity by the miseries he describes. If the pretending lover of his country, would rouse it to some great deed, by motives of patriotism, his own selfish heart must first catch the Spartan flame. And if the hypocrite in religion would prompt others to ardent devotion, he must first deceive himself into the persuasion, that he believes the sentiments he utters.

Though it cannot be questioned, whether a few gifted individuals may not counterfeit the genuine feeling of a glowing heart, while that feeling remains a stranger to the speaker's bosom; yet these instances are so few, and the requisite effort to succeed in them so arduous, that they can only be viewed as exceptions to the general rule.

That to feel *deeply*, is an indispensable qualification to speak *forcibly*, all classes of men seem perfectly aware. The tragedian felt this, when he carried the corpse of his much-loved child from its grave to the theatre, that he might better act his part in a touching tragedy.—The most illiterate feel this; for with such accuracy do they distinguish, in a speaker between fictitious and real feeling, that it is scarcely possible to impose on them the counterfeit for the genuine.

If, then, an orator can speak eloquently only when he speaks sincerely—only when the strong feelings of his bosom imbue the living words he utters—only when he possesses those elevated moral principles to which he makes his overpowering appeals, how arduous should be his effort for the elements of virtue, pure as the eternal Light has penciled it in the living oracles.

Now, the two positions, that much is to be done for our race, in this age, and that eloquence is one appointed instrument to accomplish it, furnish the most overpowering motives to make these high mental and moral attainments.

If we have burst into existence at the very period when the approaching crisis, to which the nations of the earth must come, is at the door—at an age that shall flame with grander events than those which emblazon any period on the records of time—at a period when the social system is about to be remodelled, and the moral world regenerated; if such be the moment in which we exist and act, then is our responsibility of character equally high. That such is the fact, indications that cannot be mistaken, gather thick and fast around us.—The public agitation, which has recently been effected by questions of immeasurable magnitude, leaves no uncertainty whether an extraordinary development of the mysteries of Providence toward our race is at hand. The frequent sighs of despairing Greece are wafted on the winds to the ears of the whole world—the dying groan of Poland may yet convulse every monarchy in Europe—the suppressed fires of

France are burning in concealment, only to burst forth in a more desolating earthquake, which will shatter and engulf their present system. A survey of the other states of Europe, and the east, would furnish us with events in embryo, which, when fully matured, must rock the world, and long tell on the destiny of nations. Whether these matchless events shall be chiefly brought forward to a concurrent point by the quickened energies of existing instruments, or by the sudden operation of new causes, is not for human intellect to determine. But however this may be, Providence seems to have confided to this generation the work of many past ages. Every system, religious and social, must pass a fiery scrutiny; what is false in *that*, must be abandoned; and what is wrong in *this*, must be removed. We are therefore to gird ourselves for lofty achievements—to put on the mighty panoply with which eloquence can arm us. For with millions of our race it is still a midnight hour—it is so morally and intellectually;—and though on the face of these dark and slumbering waters the spirit of light and improvement begins to move, and the quickening mandate to come forth, which shall communicate life and order; yet that ignorance and despotism which have covered the broad circle of ages, and reduced vast nations to the mere wreck of ancient empires, will only be dissipated by the vigorous action of enlightened mind. This agency must act chiefly through powerful writing and eloquent speaking. These have been the chosen media through which Providence has generally poured the light of the wise on the darkness of the ignorant.

The powerful pen and the eloquent tongue, which have held so lofty a place among the chosen agents of Providence, are still destined for high achievements. These were the instruments, even more than the sword of Washington, that broke from the neck of America the yoke of despotism. These are the instruments, also, by which the liberty of this young empire is becoming a fire to consume every monarchy on the footstool. What media more appropriate than these, through which the electric spirit of mental and moral renovation shall pass from breast to breast, and from realm to realm?

It was when Greece was the school of nations, that despotism on the thrones of Macedon and Persia quailed before eloquence. It was when Rome was the mistress of the world, that the mighty usurper of all its rights trembled at the single voice of Cicero. It was when popery held its mighty sceptre over all Europe, that by the eloquence of an obscure monk this vast system of a thousand years was made to quake to its centre. And who can doubt whether by this same wonder-working instrument the spirit of national renovation shall move on to that high and perfect triumph which Providence avowedly meditates? Nor let it be imagined that the effect of this tremendous engine will subside with the ebbing passions which the orator excited. It will not, like the meteor's glare, flash for a brief period across a startled world, and then quench itself for ever in the ocean of the past; but, like the rising lights in the heavens, it will shine with a steady and augmenting lustre.

If, then, the pen and tongue of eloquence are to breathe on every land a disenchanting spirit—a spirit that shall dash the system and crumble the thrones of despotism—a spirit that shall break the spell of Brahma and stop the car of Juggernaut—a spirit that shall dissi-



pate the delusions of Mohammed, and give to the winds of heaven the trumpery of Catholicism—a spirit that shall carry to the goaded nations of Europe, and to the bleeding millions of the east, the balm which the laws and institutions of this youthful empire can furnish; if all this is to be effected by your inimitable art, with what quenchless ardor should it be cultivated! If a wondrous Providence has so crowded the nineteenth century with the elements of public happiness, that more may be accomplished for our race now, in one age, than in the dull round of past centuries, how overpowering the motives to brighten and multiply this amazing instrumentality!

May this highest endowment of the intellect never cease to reside among you. May many go out from this far-famed hall to speak, like the voice of God, to the ear of tyranny and of obdurate crime in deep-toned thunder, muttering through the stormy cloud—to speak in the ear of sighing grief, gentle as the zephyrs that fan the vernal flowers—to plead the cause of the oppressed stranger, of the crying orphan, and of the weeping widow, in strains of Æolian sweetness. But, above all, when a darkness, deeper than midnight, settles down on the dying hour, to speak in tones that will fix our spirit-eyes on the bright and abiding objects in the world of substance—and when eternity shall roll up its broad orb to reveal its long-concealed terrors, to let in on our ears, from the heights of Calvary, melting as the lutes of heaven, the voice of a dying Restorer.

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For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

#### SCRIPTURE EXPLAINED.

‘For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh,’ Rom. ix, 3.

ALTHOUGH sufficiently satisfied that a passage of Scripture may be innocently and profitably applied without having a strict regard to the primary design of the inspired writer; as I have sometimes heard the above text applied to enforce Christian benevolence, and a disinterested sacrifice and service in the cause of Christ; yet I consider it the duty of those who expound the word of God to seek, by all the helps they can obtain, the true meaning and design of the Holy Spirit, speaking in his servants, the prophets and apostles, that they may administer truth as well as grace to their hearers.

On the above text my mind has been settled for many years: but as my view differs so widely from most commentators, I have felt a great reluctance to offer my opinion publicly; and shall do it now with due deference to the piety and learning of those who differ from me. I will first give what I consider a literal reading of the text, and the criticism will be found principally in the punctuation.

The passage reads thus:—‘I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great grief and unceasing anguish in my heart, (for I myself did wish to be accursed from Christ,) on account of my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites,’ &c. It will easily be perceived, by admitting the parentheses, that the truth which the apostle so solemnly avers, is, that his grief and anguish of heart were unceasing on account of his brethren, whom God was about to cast off: and not that he wished himself accursed for their sakes. I consider the words included in parentheses as a kind of sympathetic expletive, thrown in to palliate the severity of the punishment he was denouncing against his countrymen, with an intimation of the possibility of their obtaining mercy, on the ground that he had obtained mercy. The passage may be paraphrased thus:—What I say of the rejection of my countrymen, I say by the authority and commission of Christ, and I dare not dissemble the truth; for I have a consciousness of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and, so far from feeling to rejoice in their calamity, I have great grief and un-



ceasing pain in my heart on their account; for I know the blindness of their zeal and the deep-rooted prejudices they have against Christianity, for I myself was as blind and bitterly opposed to Christ as they are: yea, my zeal and excessive madness against Christianity carried me beyond my equals; for I persecuted the disciples to strange cities, and compelled them to blaspheme. I set at defiance and even invoked the curses of Christ, and wished to be separated from all part or inheritance in Him: and my sorrow and anguish of heart for them are the greater because they are Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, the law, the service, and the promises; and of whom was Christ, according to the flesh, who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.

My reasons for so understanding the apostle are,—

1. That the Greek verb *ἠύχουν* is in the indicative mood and imperfect tense, and should be read, '*I did wish*,' and not '*I could wish*:' and I adopt the parentheses because *ἐπερ*, before 'my brethren,' signifies '*on account of*,' and is the only proper connective between his great grief and the objects of it, with the assignable cause for the unceasing anguish in his heart. No other cause of sorrow is brought into view but the state of his brethren; unless we suppose his grief was on account of this terrible wish, which would be equally against the common interpretation. The rules of punctuation are comparatively of recent date, and were unknown in the days of the apostle; therefore the use of the parenthesis is no alteration of the text, and putting the sentence between commas, which is done in some editions, will produce the same effect.

2. There is nothing in this rendering that is forced or unnatural. No sentiment is here avowed that either shocks the feelings or perplexes the mind of the reader. It is a simple and frank confession of his past enmity against Christianity. By rendering the verb in the preterite form, and using the parentheses, all the difficulties of the common reading disappear. We have only to ask, 'When did you wish that terrible curse?' and the answer will be found in his own language: 'When I held the garments of them that stoned Stephen, when I was a blasphemer, and compelled others to blaspheme.' I gave the example, and wished myself accursed by Christ. Several good copies read *ἐπο* instead of *ἀπο τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.

3. This interpretation is in accordance with his general style of writing, which is characterized by strength and boldness of expression, rather than a graceful flow of eloquence. Many examples could be given; and possibly he might have had some allusion to this when he said to the Corinthians: 'My speech and my preaching was not with *ἐν πειθοῖς λόγοις* the persuasive eloquence of human wisdom. It also agrees with his general history. He breathed threatenings and slaughter against the disciples, and being exceedingly mad, he persecuted them even unto strange cities; compelled them to blaspheme; was himself a blasphemer, a persecutor and injurious, but obtained mercy as one born out of due time, because he did it ignorantly in unbelief.

4. I prefer this explanation because I see no other way of escaping the imputation of a rash and vain wish; even if it had been indulged for a moment, and under the most extraordinary afflatus of the Spirit. All will agree that, as a Christian, he could not wish himself eternally cursed, or finally separated from Christ. To have wished himself cut off and separated from the communion of Christ and the body of his Church would have been a rash and preposterous wish; and to have wished himself doomed by Christ to suffer with his nation, or that he might bear the calamity in their stead, or even be appointed to suffer an ignominious death on their account, would have been a vain and idle wish; as he knew it could neither benefit them nor relieve their sufferings, for he has informed us that to such as reject Christ there is no other sacrifice.

Thus far I have given the harshest rendering that a literal translation of the text will admit. But the Greek terms, I am inclined to think, are capable of a much softer interpretation. I would invite the attention of the learned inquirer to the *Εὐχόμεναι εἶναι* of Homer, who uses it as a strong affirmative: *I profess to be*, and to the derivation of anathema, from *ἀνα τίθημα* to place or set against as an enemy. The passage included in the parentheses will then read, 'For I professed myself to be an enemy of Christ.' This certainly renders the whole passage intelligible and dispassionate, which well agrees with the solemn manner in which the apostle introduces the subject; and I see no solid objection against it; but I could point several very weighty reasons against the common interpretation.

L. C.

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